



THOMAS WOLSEY CARDINALL
ARCHBISHOP OF YORK & CHANCELLOR
OF ENGLAND; Died Nov: 29: 1529



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THE
NEGOTIATIONS
OF

THOMAS WOOLSEY,

The great Cardinall of *England*,
Containing his life and death, viz.

1. *The Originall of his promotion.*
2. *The continuance in his Magnificence.*
3. *His Fall, Death, and Buriall.*

Composed by one of his owne Servants, being
his Gentleman-Vsher.
viz. By m^r Cavendish.

With many Errours Corrected, and some
Additions enlarged.

Whereunto is added a Parallell between *Thomas* Lord Arch-Bishop
of *Yorke*, and *William* Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

1641

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Continuing in the same vein

Printed by the Government

The Preface.

IT seemeth no wisedome to credit every light tale, blazed abroad in the mouthes of vulgars, for wee daily heare how with their blasphemous Trumpe they spread abroad innumerable Lyes, without either shame or honesty, which *prima facie* sheweth forth a visage of Truth, as though it were an absolute verity, though indeed nothing lesse, And amongst the better sort, those babblings are of no validity.

I have read the allegations of divers worthy Authours against such false rumours and opinions of the common people, who delight in nothing more, then to heare strange things, and to see new alterations of Authority, rejoycing sometimes in such Novelties, which afterwards doe produce Repentance. Thus may all men of understanding conceive the madnes of the rude multitude, and not give too much credence to every sudden rumour, untill the truth bee perfectly known by the report of some approved and credible persons, that commonly have the best intelligence.

I have heard, and also seene set forth in divers printed Booke, some untrue imaginations, after the death of divers persons (who in their lives were in great estimation) invented rather to bring their honest names in question then otherwise.

Now forasmuch as I intend to write here some speciall proceedings of Cardinall *Woolsey*, the great Arch-Bishop, his ascending unto honour and great promotion, his continuance in it, and sudden falling from the same. A great part

whereof shall be of mine own knowledge, and some part from credible persons informations.


This Cardinall was my Lord and Master, whom in his life-time I served, and so remained with him in his fall continually, during the time of all his troubles, both in the South and North parts untill he dyed. In all which time I punctually observed all his demeanours, as also in his great Triumph and glorious estate.

And since his departure, I have heard divers surmised and imagined Tales concerning his proceedings, and dealings, which I my selfe have certainly known to be most untrue, unto which I could have sufficiently answered according to truth; But conceiving it to be much better to be silent, then to reply against their untruths, whereby I might perhaps have rather kindled a great flame of displeasure, then have quenched one sparke of their untrue reports; Therefore I did referre the truth thereof to the Almighty, who knowes the truth of all things.

Neverthelesse, whatsoever any man hath conceived of him in his life, or since his death; Thus much I dare say without offence to any, that in my judgement I never saw this Realme in better obedience, and quieter, then it was in the time of his Authority, nor Iustice better administred without partiality, as I could justly prove, if I should not be taxed with too much affection.

I will therefore here desist to speake any further by the way of Apologie, and proceed now to speake of his Originall, and ascending through Fortunes favour to high dignity and abundance of wealth.

An




An Advertisment to the Reader.

WHo pleaseth to reade this History advisedly, may well perceive the mutability of honour, the tottering state of earthly Dignity, the deceit of flattering friends, and the instability of Princes favours.

This great Cardinall having experience of all this, witnes his fleeting from Honour, the losse of Friends, Riches and Dignities, being forgotten of his Prince, whilst Fortune smiled, having society of all these; And she bending her brow, deprived him of all Terrestriall Joyes; who by twenty yeares study and paines, had obtained so great wealth and dignity, and in lesse then one yeare lost all.

And thus was his honour laid in the dust.



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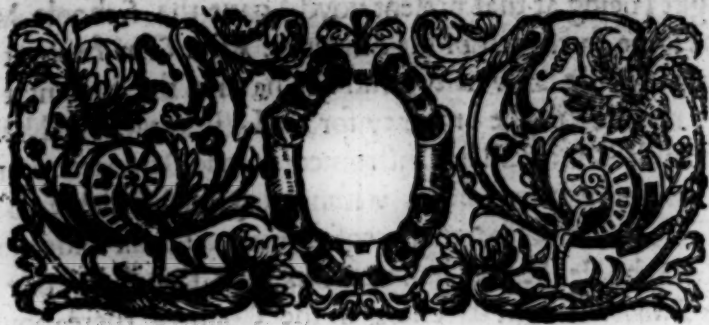
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CHAP. I.

*Of the Cardinall his Originall, and
who he was.*

Ruth it is, Cardinall *Woolsey* was an honest poore mans sonne in the town of *Ipswich* in the county of *Suffolke*, and there borne, who being but a child was very apt to learn, wherefore by meanes of his Parents and other his good friends, hee was maintained at the University of *Oxford*, where in a short time he prospered so well, that in a small time (as he told me with his owne mouth) he was made Batchelour of Arts when hee was but fiftene yeares of age, and was most commonly called the Boy Batchelour. Thus prospering in learning, hee was made fellow of *Magdalene* Colledge in *Oxford*, after that he was made Master of *Magdalene* Schoole, at which time there were the Lord Marquesse *Dorsets* sonnes there at Schoole, committing unto him as well their education as their instructions and learning.

He was Batchelour of Arts at 15. yeares of Age.

It pleased this Lord Marquesse against *Christmas* to send as well for the Schoole-master as for the Schollers home to his house, for their recreation in that pleasant and honourable Forrest. They being a while there, the Lord Marquesse their Father perceiving them to bee well improved in learning for the time, He was so well contented, that he having a Benefice

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in his gift (being at that present voyd) gave the Schoole-Master the same, in regard of his diligence. After *Christmas* at his departure to the University, and hee having the presentat: on thereof repaired to the ordinary for his Institution. And being then furnished with all his Instruments at the Ordinaries hands for his preferment made hast without any further delay to his Benefice to take possession thereof. Now you shall understand that the Schoole-Master had not bin long there, but one Sir *James Pawlet* Knight dwelling in the Country thereabouts, tooke an occasion of displeasure against him, but upon what ground I know not; Infomuch that Sir *James* was so bold as to set the Schoole-master by the heeles during his displeasure, which affront was afterwards neither forgotten, nor forgiven; For when the Schoole-master mounted so high as to be Lord Chancellour of *England*, hee was not forgetfull of his old displeasure most cruelly ministred unto him by Sir *James*, but sent for him, and after a very sharpe reproofe enjoined him not to depart out of *London* without license first obtained, so that hee continued in the middle Temple the space of five or sixe yeares, who afterwards lay in the Gate-house next the Stayres, which he re-edified and sumptuously beautified the same all over on the outside, with the Cardinalls Armes, his Hat, his Cognizance and Badges, with other devises in so glorious a manner as he thought thereby to have appeased his old displeasure.

This may be a good president for men in Authority, which worke their owne wills without wit, to remember that greatnesse may decay. And those whom they doe punish more of humour then justice may afterwards be advanced to great honour (as this Cardinall was) and they abased as low as this Sir *James* was, which seeke revenge. Who would have thought that when Sir *James Pawlet* punished this poore Schoole-master that ever he should have mounted to so great dignitie as to be Chancellour of *England*, considering his meane parentage and friends. These be the wonderfull workes of Gods providence. And I would wish that all men in authority would feare God in all ages in the time of their triumph and greatnesse, considering that advancement and authority are not permanent, but many times slide and vanish suddenly away, as Princes pleasures alter and change, or as all living creatures must of necessity pay the debt due to nature which no earthly creature can resist.

Shortly

Shortly after it chanced the said Lord Marquesse dyed, after whose decease the Schoole-master thinking himselfe but a weake beneficed man, and that hee had left his fellowship in the Colledge, for (as I understand) if a fellow of that house be once promoted to a Benefice, hee shall by the rules of the same house be dismissed of his fellowship; and now being also destitute of his singular good Lord, as well as of his fellowship which was most of his reliefe; though long to bee provided of some other helpe to defend him from all such stormes as he might meet with. In his travell thereabouts he grew acquainted with a very great and ancient Knight, who had a great place in *Callis* under King *Henry* the seventh. This Knight he served and behaved himselfe so discretely that hee obtained the speciall favour of his said Master. In so much that for his wit and gravity he committed all the care and charge of his said Office to his said Chaplaine. And as I understand his Office was the Treasurership of *Callis*, who in regard of his great age shortly after was discharged of his said Office, and so returned into *England*, intending to live a more private life. But through his instant labour and good favour his Chaplaine was preferred to be the Kings Chaplaine. And when he had once cast Anchor in the Port of promotion, how hee then bestirred himselfe I shall now declare.

He having then just occasion to be daily in sight of the King in his Closet, not spending the rest of the day in idlenes would attend those men whom he thought to beare most rule in the Councell, and were most in favour with the King, which at that time was Doctor *Fox* Bishop of *Winchester* and Lord Privy Seale; And also Sir *Thomas Lovell* Knight, a very sage and wise Counsellour being Master of the Wardes and Constable of the Tower.

These antient and grave Counsellours in procelle of time perceiving this Chaplaine to bee a man of a very acnte wit, thought him a meete instrument to bee imployed in greater affaires.

Not long after it happened that the King had an urgent occasion to send an Ambassadour to *Maximilian* the Emperor, who lay at that present in the Low Countries at *Flanders* and not far from *Callis*.

Now the Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Thomas Lovell*

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whom the King most esteeme. as the chiefeſt of his Counsell, one day advising and debating with themselves upon this Ambassage; and by this time they saw they had a convenient occasion to prefer the Kings Chaplaine, whose excellent eloquence and learning they highly commended unto the Kings highnesse, who giving eare unto them, and being a Prince of an excellent judgement and modesty, he commanded them to bring his Chaplaine (whom they so commended) before his Grace, and being come, his Majesty (to prove his ability) entered into discourse with him, concerning matters of State, whereby the King had so well informed himselfe, that hee found him to be a man of a sharpe wit and of such excellent parts, that he thought him worthy to be put in trust with matters of greater consequence.

CHAP. II.

Of the Cardinall his speedy dispatch in his first Ambassage to the Emperour Maximilian.

THe King being now resolved to imploy him in this Ambassage, commanded him thereupon to prepare himself for his journey; and for his dispatch wisht him to repaire to his Grace and his Councell, of whom he should receive his Commission and instruction. By meanes whereof he had then a fit occasion to repaire from time to time into the Kings presence, who had thereby daily experience of his singular wisdom and sound judgement. Thus having his dispatch, he tooke his leave of the King at *Richmond*, about foure of the clock in the afternoone, where hee lancheth forth in *Graves-end Barge* with a prosperous winde and tyde; and his happy speede was such, that he arrived at *Graves-end* in little more then three houres: where he tarried no longer then the Post-horses were provided, and he travelled so speedily, that he came to *Dover*, the next morning, where the Passengers were under saile to passe to *Callis*; So that long before noone hee arrived there, and having Post-horses prepared, departed from thence without tarrying, making such hasty speed that he was that night with the Emperour: who understanding of the arrivall of the King

King of *Englands* Ambassadour, would in no wise delay time, but sent for him incontinently, for his affection to the King of *England* was such, that hee was glad of any opportunity to doe him a courtesie.

The Ambassadour declares the summe of his Embassie unto the Emperour, of whom he craved speedy expedition, which was granted him, so that the next day hee was clearly dispatched, and all the Kings requests fully accomplished and granted. At which time he made no further stay, but tooke Post-horses that night and rode without intermission to *Callis*, being conducted thither by divers Nobles appointed by the Emperour; and at the opening of the Gates of *Callis* he came thither, where the Passengers were ready to returne for *England*: insomuch that hee arrived at *Dover* betweene ten and cleaven of the clock in the fore-noone.

And having Post-horses in a readinesse came to the Court at *Richmond* that same night, where (taking his repose untill morning) hee presented himselfe unto his Majesty at his first comming out of his Bed-chamber to his Closet to Masse, whom when hee saw hee checked for that hee was not in his journey.

Sir quoth he, If it may please your Highnesse, I have already bin with the Emperour, and dispatched your affaires, I trust to your Graces contentation; and thereupon presented the King with his Letters of Credence from the Emperour. The King wondring at his speedy returne (hee being so well furnished with all his proceedings) for the present dissembled his admiration and imagination in that matter, and demanding of him whether he encountred with his Purservant which he sent unto him with Letters, imagining him to be scarce out of *London*, which concerned very materiall passages which were omitted in their Consultation, which the King earnestly desired should have bin dispatched in his Ambassage.

Yes forsooth (quoth he) I met with him yesterday by the way, and though I had no knowledge thereof, yet notwithstanding I have bin so bold (upon mine owne discretion) perceiving the matter to be very necessary, in that behalfe I dispatched the same. And forasmuch as I have bin so bold to exceed my Commission, I most humbly crave your Royall remission and pardon.

The King inwardly rejoycing, replyed, We doe not onely pardon you, but give you our Princely thanks, both for your good exploit and happy expedition. And dismissed him for that present, and bad him returne to him againe after dinner, for a further relation of his Ambassage, and so the King went to Masse.

It is not to be doubted but this Ambassadour had all this while visited his great Friends, the Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Thomas Lovell*; to whom he had declared the effect of his Ambassage; and also his Majesties commendations of him did not a little rejoyce the worthy Counsellours, forasmuch as hee was of their preferment. And shortly after the King gave him for his diligent service the Deanrie of *Lincolne*, which was in those dayes one of the greatest promotions that he gave under the degree of a Bishop. And hee grew more and more in estimation and authority, and was afterwards promoted to bee *Almoner*.

Now not long after when Death (that favoureth no Estates, nor King nor Kezar) had taken away the wise King *Henry* the *seaventh* out of this present life; It was a wonder to see what practices and devices were then used about the young Prince *Henry* the *Eight*; The great provision that was then made for the Funerall of the one, and for the Coronation of the other, by the now Queene *Katherine*, and Motherafter the Queenes Highnesse that now is, whose vertuous life Iesu long preserve.

After the solemnizations and costly triumphs, our naturall, young, couragious, lusty Prince, and Soveraigne Lord King *Henry* the *Eight* entring into his flower and lusty youth, took upon him the Royall Scepter and Imperiall Diadem of this fertile Nation, the two and twentieth of Aprill, *Anno Dom.* 1509. which at that time flourished with all abundance of riches, whercof the King was most inestimably furnished, called then the golden world.

Now shortly after the *Almoner* seeing he had a plain pathway to promotion, behaved himselfe so politickly, that he was made one of the Kings Privie Councell, and increased in favour daily: to whom he gave a house at *Bridewell* neer *Fleetstreet*, where he kept his house for his family, and so he daily attended upon the King being in speciall favour.

His

His sentences in the Star-chamber were ever so pithe and witty, that upon all occasions they assigned him for the fluent eloquence of his tongue, to bee the Expositor to the King in all their proceedings. In whom the King received so great content, that he called him still nearer to his person; and the rather because he was most ready to advance the Kings owne will and pleasure, having no respect to the Case.

Now the King being young, and much given to his pleasure, his old Counsellors advised him to have recourse sometimes to the Councell about his weighty affaires; but the *Almoner* on the contrary, perswaded him to mind his pleasure, and he would take his care and charge upon himselfe, (if his Majesty would countenance him with his authority) which the King liked well. And thus none was like to the *Almoner* in favour with the King.

CHAP. III.

Of King Henries invading France in his owne person with the Cardinals assistance.



Thus the Almoner continuing in high favour, till at last many presents, gifts, and rewards came in so plentifully, that I dare say hee wanted nothing, for he had all things in abundance that might either please his fancy or enrich his Coffers, for the times so favourably smiled upon him, but to what end you shall hereafter heare. Therefore let all men to whom fortune extendeth her favour and grace, take heed they trust not her subtile and faire promises, for under colour thereof she carrieth an envious gall; for when she seeth her servant in highest authority, she turneth her favour and pleasant countenance into frownes.

This Almoner clyming up Fortunes wheele, that no man was in estimation with the King but onely he for his witty qualities and wisdom.

He had an especiall gift of Naturall Eloquence, and a fyled tongue to pronounce the same, that hee was able therewith to perswade and allure all men to his purposes, in the time

He was naturally eloquent,

of

King Henry
in the fifth
yeare of his
raigne invaded
France.

The King re-
lyeth upon the
Almoners po-
licy.

He besiegeth
the strong
Towne of
Turwine.

He besiegeth
the Towne of
Turney.

of his continuance in fortunes favour.

In the fifth yeare of the raigne of King Henry the Eight, it chanced that the Realme of England and France was at variance, but upon what ground or occasion, I know not, Inasmuch that the King was fully resolved in his owne person to invade France with a puissant Army; It was therefore thought very necessary, that his Royall enterprizes should bee speedily provided and furnished in every degree, in things apt and convenient for the same; For expedition thereof the King thought no mans wit so meet for policy and painefull travell as the Almoner to whom he committed his whole affiance, and trust therein; And he being nothing scrupulous in any thing that the King would command, alibough it seemed very difficult, tooke upon him the whole charge of the businesse, and proceeded so therein, that he brought all things to good effect in direct order for all manner of victuals, and provision convenient for so noble a voyage and Army.

All things being thus prepared by him in order, the King not intending to neglect or delay any time, but with noble and valiant courage to advance his royall enterprize, passed the Seas betweene Dover and Callis, where hee prosperously arrived. And after he had there made his arrivall, and landed all his provision and munition, and sate in consultation about his weighty affaires, marched forth in good order of battell, till hee came to the strong Towne of Turwine, to the which hee laid strong siege, and made a sharpe assault, so that in short space it was yeelded unto him, unto which place the Emperour Maximillian resorted unto him with a great Army like a mighty Prince, taking of the King wages.

Thus after the King had taken this strong Towne, and taken possession thereof, and set all things in good order for the defence and preservation thereof to his Majesties use, then hee rettyred from thence, and marched towards Turney, and there layd siege in like manner, to which hee gave so fierce assaults, that the enemies were constrained to render the Towne to his Majesty. At which time the King gave unto the Almoner the Bishopricke of the same Sea towards his paines and diligence sustained in that journey. And when hee had established all things according to his princely minde and pleasure, and furnished the same with men and Captaines of Warre for the safe-

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safeguard of the Town be prepared for his return to England.

But now you shall understand by the way, that whilst the King was absent with a great power in France the Scottish King invaded England, against whom the Queene sent a great Army, the Earle of Surrey being generall, where hee overthrow the Scots at Balmston called Hoddenfield, where the King of Scots was slaine with divers of his Nobility, and eightene thousand men, and they tooke all his munition for warre.

The Scots in the Kings absence invade England.

By this time the King returned into England, and tooke with him divers Noble personages of France being prisoners; As the Duke of Longuido, Viscount Clerimond, with divers others that were taken in a skirmish.

And thus God gave him victory at home, and victory abroad, being in the fifth yeare of his raigne, Anno Dom. one thousand five hundred and thirteene.

CHAP. III.

The King promoting his Almoner, being made Cardinall, and Lord Chancellor of England.

THe King being returned into England, the See of *Lincolne* became voyd by the death of Doctor *Smith* late Bishop there, which Bishoprick the King gave to the Almoner Elect of *Turney*, who was not negligent to take possession thereof, but made all speed for his Consecration, the solemnization thereof being ended, he found a way to get into his hands all his predecessors goods, whereof I have seene divers parts that furnished his house.

It was not long after but Doctor *Bambridge* Arch-Bishop of *York* dyed at *Rohan* in *France*, being there the Kings Ambasiadour, unto which See the King presented the last new Bishop of *Lincoln*, so that hee had three Bishopricks in his hands at one time, all in one yeare given him. Then prepared he againe for his translation from the See of *Lincolne* to that of *Torke*, as he did before to his Installation.

After which Solemnization done, and being then Arch-
C Bishop

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Bishop and *Primus Angliae*, thought himselfe sufficient to compare with that of *Canterbury*, and did thereupon advance his Crosses in the Courts, and every other place, as well in the Precinct and Iurisdiction of *Canterbury*, as any other place; And forasmuch as *Canterbury* claimeth a superiority over *Yorke*, as well as over any other Bishoprick within *England*, and for that cause claimeth an acknowledgement, as in ancient obedience of *Yorke* to abate advancement of his Crosses, to the Crosses of *Canterbury*.

Notwithstanding *Yorke* not desisting to beare the same, although *Canterbury* gave *Yorke* a checke for the same, and told him it was presumption, by reason whereof there ingendred some grudge betweene them; But shortly after he obtained to be made Cardinall and *Legatus de Literis* unto whom the Pope sent the Cardinalls-Cap, and certaine Bulls for his authority in that behalfe, whereupon hee was Installed at Westminster in great Triumph, which was executed by all Bishops with their Mitres, Cappes, and other ornaments; And after all this hee was made Chancellour of *England*, and *Canterbury* who was the Chancellour was dismissed.

Now he being in the Chancellourship, and endowed with the promotions of Arch-Bishop and Cardinall *de Litera*, thought himselfe so fully furnished, that hee was now able to surmount *Canterbury* in all Jurisdications; And in all Ecclesiasticall powers to Convocate *Canterbury* and all other Bishops, and spirituall persons to assemble at his Convocations, where he would assigne and take upon him the conversion of all Ministers, and others within their Jurisdications, and visited all the spirituall houses in their Diocesse, and all manner of spirituall Ministers, as Commissioners, Scribes, Apparators, and all other necessary Officers to furnish his Courts, and did convent by convention, whom he pleased through this Realme and Dominion, and all other persons to the glory of his Dignity. Then had he two great Crosses of silver, whereof one was of his Arch-bishopricke, and the other of his Legacie, borne before him wheresoever he rode or went by two of the tallest Priests that he could get in this Realme.

And to the increase of his gaine he had in his hand the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and *St. Albons* in Commendum; Also when Doctor *Fox* Bishop of *Winchester* dyed, he did succeeder

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der *Durham* to the King, and tooke himselfe to *Winchester*.
He had also, as it were in *Farine*, the Bishopricks of *Bath*,
Worcester, and *Hereford*, for the Incumbents of them were
strangers. He had also attending upon him men of great pos-
sessions, and the tallest Yeomen for his guard in the Realm.

CHAP. V.

Of the orders and Offices of his house and Chappell.

Now first for his House you shall understand, that
he had in his Hall three Boards kept with three
severall Officers (that is to say) a Steward, that
was alwaies a Priest, a Treasurer, that was ever
a Knight, and a Controller that was an Esquire;
Also a Confessor, a Doctor; Three Marshalls, three Vshers
in the Hall, besides two Almoners and Groomes.

Then had hee in the hall-kitchin two Clarkes, a Clarke
Comptroller, and a Surveyor over the Dresser; a Clarke in
the Spycerie which kept continually a Messe together in the
Hall; Also he had in the Hall-kitchin two Cookes and la-
bourers, and children, twelve persons; Foure men of the Scul-
lery, two yeomen of the Pastry, with two other Past-layers
under the yeomen.

Then had he in his Kitchin a master Cooke, who went dai-
ly in Velvet or Satin, with a gold chaine, besides two other
Cooke, and fixe Labourers in the same Roome.

In the Larder one Yeoman and a Groome; In the Scullery
one Yeoman and two Groomes; In the Buttery two yeomen,
and two groomes; In the Ewry so many; In the Sellar, three
Yeomen, three Pages; In the Chandery, two yeomen; In the
Wayfary two yeomen; In the Wardrop of Beds, the Master
of the Wardrop, and twenty persons besides; in the Laundry,
a yeoman and a Groome, and thirteene Pages, two yeomen
Purveyours, and a groome Purveyor; In the Bake-house two
yeomen and groomes; In the Woodyard, one yeoman and a
groome; In the Barne one yeoman; Porters at the Gate, two
Yeomen and two Groomes; A Yeoman in his Barge, and a
Master of his Horse; a Clarke of the Stables, and a Yeoman

of the same; a Farrier, and a yeoman of the Stirrop; a Malt-lour and sixteene Groomes, every one of them keeping foure Geldings.

The Officers
of his Chap-
pell.

Now will I declare unto you the Officers of his Chappell and singing-men of the same. First he had there a Deane, a great Divine, and a man of excellent learning, and a sub-Dean, a Repeatour of the Quire, a Gospeller, an Epistler of the singing Priests, a Master of the children; In the Vestry a yeoman, and two groomes, besides other Retainers that came thither at principall Feasts.

And for the furniture of his Chappell, it passeth my weake capacity to declare the number of the costly Ornaments, and rich Jewels that were occupied in the same; For I have seene in procession about the Hall, forty foure rich Copes of one setle worne, besides the rich Candlesticks, and other necessary Ornaments to the furniture of the same.

Officers in
his privie
Chamber.

Now you shall understand that hee had two Crosse-bearers, and two Pillar-bearers in his great Chamber, and his privie Chamber, all these persons; The chiefe Chamberlaine, a Vice-chamberlaine, a gentleman Vsher, beside one of his privie Chamber; He had also twelve Wayters, and sixe gentlemen Wayters; Also he had nine or ten Lords, who had each of them two or three men to waite upon him, except the Earle of Darby who had five men.

Then he had gentlemen-Cup-bearers, and Carvers, and of the Sewers, both of the great Chamber, and of the Privie chamber forty persons; Sixe yeomen Vshers, eight Groomes of his chamber; Also he had of Almes, who were daily wayters of his Boord at Dinner; Twelve Doctors and Chaplaines, besides them of his, which I never rehearsed; a Clark of his closet, and two Secretaries, and two Clarkes of his Signet; Foure Councillours learned in the Law.

And for that he was Chancellour of *England*, it was necessary to have Officers of the Chancery to attend him for the better furniture of the same.

First, he had a Ryding Clarke, a clarke of the Crowne, a clarke of the Hamper, a Crafer; then had hee a clarke of the Checke, as well upon the chaplaines, as upon the yeomen of the chamber; Hee had also foure Foot-men garnished with rich running Coates, whensoever hee had any journey. Then he

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 he had a Hetzuld of Armes, a Serjeant of Armes; a Physician, an Apothecarie; Foure Minstrells, a keeper of his Tents, an Armourer; An Instructor of his Wardrop of Roabes, a Keeper of his chamber continually; Hee had also in his house a Surveyor of *Yorke*, a clarke of the Greene-cloth. All these were daily attending down-lying and uprising. And at meate hee had Eight continuall Boards for the Chamberlaines and gentlemen Officers, having a Mease of young Lords, and another of Gentlemen; Besides this, there was never a Gentleman or Officer, or other worthy person, but hee kept some two, some three persons to waite upon them; And all other at the least had one which did amount to a great number of persons.

Now having declared the order according to the Cheine Roll, use his house, and what Officers he had daily attending to furnish the same, besides retainers and other persons being suitors dined in the Hall. And when shall wee see any more such Subjects that shall keepe such a Noble house; Therefore here is an end of his Household, the number of persons in the cheyne were eight hundred persons.

CHAP. VI.

*Of his second Embassage to the Emperour
 Charles the fifth.*



Hen hee was thus furnished in manner as I have before rehearsed unto you; He was sent twice on Embassage to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, that now raigneth, and Father to King *Philip* now, our Lord and Sovereigne; Forasmuch as the old Emperour *Maximilian* was dead, and for divers other urgent occasions touching his Majesty; It was thought fit that about such weighty matters, and to so noble a Prince the Cardinall was most meete to be sent on this Embassage, and he being one ready to take the charge thereof upon him, was furnished in every respect most like a grear Prince, which was much to the honour of his Majesty, and of this Realme; For first he proceeded forth like to a Cardinall having all things correspondant, his Gentlemen being very many in number

were clothed in livery coates of crimson Velvet of the best, and chaines of Gold about their necks; And his yeomen and all his meane Officers were clad in fine Searlet guarded with black Velvet one hand breadth. Thus furnished, he was twice sent in this manner to the Emperour in *Flanders*, then lying at *Bridges*, whom he did most nobly entertain, discharging all his own charges and his mens. There was no house in the town of *Bridges*, wherein any of my Lords Gentlemen were lodged or had recourse, but that the owners of the houses were commanded by the Emperours Officers upon the paine of their lives to take no money for any thing that the Cardinalls men did take of any kind of victuals; No, although they were disposed to make costly Banquets, further commanding their said Hosts that they should want nothing, which they honestly required, or desired to have.

Also the Emperours Officers every night went through the Towne from house to house, where any Englishmen had recourse or lodged, and served their Livery for all night, which was done on this manner. First the Officers brought into the house of *Castele* of fine Manchet, then two silver pots of Wine, and a pound of Sugar, white lights, and yellow lights, a Boule of Silver, and a Goblet to drinke in, and every night a staffe Torch. This was their order of their Livery every night; And then in the morning when the Officers came to fetch away their stufte, they would accompt for the Gentlemens costs the day before.

Thus the Emperour entertained the Cardinal, and his traine during the time of his Embassie. And that done, hee returned into *England* with great Triumph, being no lesse in estimation with the King then hee was before, but rather much more, for hee encreased daily in the Kings favour by reason of wits and readinesse to doe the King pleasure in all things.

In the one and twentieth yeare of King *Henry* the Eighths raine, *Anno Dom. 1529*. This Emperour *Charles* the Fifth came into *England*, who was nobly entertained.

CHAP.

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CHAP. VII.

Of the manner of his going to Westminster Hall.

Now must I declare the manner of his going to Westminster Hall in the Terme time. First, when he came out of his Privie chamber, he most commonly heard two Masses in his Chappell or chamber. And I heard one of his Chaplaines say since (that was a man of credit and excellent learning) that what businesse soever the Cardinall had in the day time, that he never went to bed with any part of his service unsaid; no not so much as one Collect, in which I thinke hee deceived many a man: then going into his chamber againe, he demanded of some of his servants if they were in readinesse, and had furnished his chamber of Presence, and wayting chamber: he being then advertised, came out of his Privie chamber about eight of the clock, ready apparrelled and in Red like a Cardinall, his upper vesture was all of Scarlet, or else of fine Crimson Taffata, or crimson Satin ingrained, his Pilliow of Scarlet, with a black Velvet tippet of Sables about his necke, holding in his hand an Orange, the meate or substance thereof being taken out and filled againe with a part of Sponge, with Vineger and other confections against pestilent Ayres, the which he most commonly held to his nose, when he came to the presses, or when hee was pestered with many suitors; And before him was borne the broad Seale of England, and the Cardinalls Hat, by some Lord, or some Gentleman of worship right solemnly; And as soone as he was entered into his chamber of Presence, where there were daily attending on him as well Noblemen of this Realme, as other worthy Gentlemen of his owne Family, his two great crosses were there attending upon him; Then cry the Gentlemen Vthers that goe before him bare-headed, On Masters before, and make roome for my Lord. Thus went hee downe into the Hall with a Serjeant of Armes before him, bearing a great Mase of Silver, and two Gentlemen carrying two great Plates of Silver; And when hee came to the Hall doore, there his Mole stood trapped

ped all in crimson Velvet, with a Saddle of the same.

Then was attending him, when hee was mounted his two Crosse-bearers, his two Pillow-bearers, all upon great horses, all in fine Scarlet, then he marched on with a traine of Gentry, having foure Foot-men about him, bearing every one of them a Pole-axe in his hand; And thus passed he forth till he came to *Westminster*, and there alighted and went in this manner up to the Chancery, and stayed a while at a Barre, made for him beneath the Chancery, and there hee communed sometimes with Judges and sometimes with other persons, and then went up to the Chancery, and sate there till eleven of the clock, to heare suites, and to determine causes; And from thence he would goe into the Star-chamber as occasion served him; he neither spared high nor low, but did judge every one according unto right.

Every Sunday he would resort to the court being at *Greenwich*, with his former rehearsed traine and Triumph, taking his Barge at his owne staires, furnished with yeomen standing upon the sayles, and his Gentlemen within and about, and landed at the three Cranes in the Vine-tree, and from thence he rode upon his Mule with his crosses, his Pillars, his Hat, and his broad Seale carried before him on horse-backe along Thames-street untill he came to Billingsgate, and there he tooke his Barge, and so went to *Greenwich*, where he was Nobly entertained of the Lords in the Kings house, being there with staves in their hands, as the Treasurer, Comptroller, with many others, and conveyed into the Kings chamber, and so went home againe in the like Triumph.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Cardinalls magnificence in his house.



He lived a long season ruling all things in this Realme appertaining to the King by his wisdom, and all other matters of forraine Regions with whom the King had any occasion to meddle. All Ambassadors of forraine Potentates were ever disposed by the Cardinalls wisdom to whom they had continuall access for their dispatch. His

His house was alwaies resorted unto like a Kings house with Noblemen and Gentlemen; And when it pleased the Kings Majesty (as many times it did) he would for his recreation resort unto the Cardinalls house, against whose comming there wanted no preparation of goodly furnitures, with victuals of the finest sort could bee had for mony or friendship

Great resort
to his house as
to the King.

Such pleasures were here devised for the Kings delight, as could be invented or imagined; Banquets set with Masquers and Mummers, in such costly manner, that it was glorious to behold, there wanted no Damsells meet to dance with the Masquers, or to garnish the place for the time with variety of other pastimes. Then was there divers kinds of Musicke, and many choyse men and women Singers appointed to sing, who had excellent voyces. I have seene the King come suddenly thithor in a Masque, with a dozen Masquers all in garments like Shepheards made of fine cloth of gold and silver wyre, & fixe Torch-bearers, besides their Drummers and other attending on them with Vizards, and clothed all in Sattin. And before his entring into the Hall, you shall understand that hee came by water up to the water-gate without any noise, where were laid divers Chambers and Gunnes charged with shott, and at his landing they were discharged, which made such a rattling noyse in the Ayre, that it was like thunder; It made all the Noblemen, Gentlemen and Ladies to muse what it should meane comming so suddenly, they sitting quietly at a Banquet. In this sort you shall understand, that the Tables were set in the chamber of Presence covered, and my Lord Cardinall sitting under his cloth of State, and there having all his service alone; And then was there set a Lady and a Nobleman, a Gentleman and a Gentlewoman, throughout all the Tables in the chambers on the one side, which were made all joyning as it were, but one Table. All which order was done by my Lord Sands, then Lord Chamberlaine to the King, and by Sir Henry Guilford, then Comptroller of the Kings house.

His entertain-
ment of the
King in a
Masque.

Then immediately after this great shot of Gunnes, the Cardinall desired the Lord Chamberlaine to see what it did mean, as though he knew nothing of the matter; They then looked out of the window into the Thames, and returning againe told him, that they thought they were Noblemen and stran-

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gers arrived at the Bridge, and comming as Ambassadors from some forraine Prince ; With that said the Cardinall, I desire you, because you can speake French, to take the paines to goe into the Hall, there to receive them into the Chamber, where they shall see us, and all those Noble personages being merry at our Banquet, desiring them to sit downe with us, and take part of our Fare.

The King and
his Company
conducted into
the chamber.

Then went they incontinently into the Hall, where they were received with twenty Torches, and conveyed up into the Chamber with such a number of Drums and Flutes, as I have seldome seene together at one time and place.

Then at their arrivall into the Chamber, they went two and two together directly before the Cardinall where he sate, and saluted them very reverently ; To whom the Lord Chamberlaine for them said ; Sir, forasmuch as they are strangers, and cannot speake English, they have desired me to declare unto you, that they having understanding of this your triumphant Banquet, were assembled such a number of faire Dames, they could doe no lesse (under the suppartation of your Grace) then to view as well their incomparable beauties, as to accompany them to the Mumchance, and after that to dance with them, so to beget their better acquaintance.

And furthermore they require of your Grace, lycence to accomplish this cause of their comming.

When the Cardinall said hee was willing, and very well content they should doe so :

The Masquers
salute the
Ladies.

Then went the Masquers and first saluted all the Dames, and then returned to the most worthiest, and there opened the great Cup of Gold filled with Crownes, and other peeces to cast at.

The Cardinall
casts at two
hundred
crownes.

Thus perusing all the Gentlewomen, of some they wonne, and to some they lost. And having viewed all the Ladies, they returned to the Cardinall with great Reverence, pouring downe all their Gold, which was above two hundred crowns. At all quoth the Cardinall, and casting the Dye hee wonne it, whereat was made great joy.

Then quoth the Cardinall to my Lord Chamberlaine, I pray you goe tell them, that to me it seemeth that there should bee a Noble man amongst them, that better deserves to sit in this place then I, to whom I should gladly surrender the same,

accor-

according to my duty if I knew him.

Then spake my Lord Chamberlaine to them in French, declaring my Lord Cardinalls words, and they rounding him againe in the care, the Lord Chamberlaine said unto my Lord Cardinall:

Sir (quoth he) they confesse that among them is such a Noble personage, whom if your Grace can point out from the rest, he is contented to disclose himselfe, and to accept of your place most willingly.

With that the Cardinall taking good advice, went amongst them, and at the last (quoth he) it seemeth to mee, that the Gentleman with the black beard should be he, and with that he rose out of his Chaire, and offered the same to the Gentleman with the black Beard, with the Cup in his hand; But the Cardinall was mistaken, for the person to whom hee then offered his Chaire was Sir *Edward Nevill*, a comely Knight, and of a goodly personage, who did more resemble his Majesties person then any other in that Masque. The Cardinall mistaken.

The King seeing the Cardinall so deceived in his choyce, could not forbear laughing, but pulled downe his Vizard, and Sir *Edward Nevills* also, with such a pleasant countenance and cheere, that all the Noble Estates desired his Highnesse to take his place; To whom the King made answer, that hee would first goe and shift him; And thereupon went into the Cardinalls Bed-chamber, where was a great fire prepared for him, and there hee new apparrelled himselfe with rich and Princely garments; And in the Kings absence, the dishes of the Banquet was cleane taken away, and the Tables covered againe with new and perfumed cloaths, every man sitting still untill the Kings Majesty with his Masquers came in among them, every man new apparrelled. The Tables furnished againe with a new Banquet.

Then the King tooke his seate under the cloth of Estate, commanding every person to sit still as they did before; And then came in a new Banquet before his Majesty of two hundred dishes, and so they passed the night in Banqueting, and dancing untill morning, which much rejoyced the Cardinall, to see his Sovereigne Lord so pleasant at his house.

CHAP. IX.

Of the originall Instrument of the Cardinalls fall:

Mistris Anne Bullen.

Now you shall understand that the young Lord of *Northumberland* attended upon my Lord Cardinall, who when the Cardinall went to Court, would ever have conference with Mistris *Anne Bullen*, who then was one of the Maides of Honour to Queene *Katherine*, insomuch, that at last they were contracted together, which when the King heard, hee was much moved thereat (for hee had a private affection to her himselfe) which was not yet discovered to any, and then advised the Cardinall to send for the Earle of *Northumberland*, his Father, and take order to dissolve the Contract made betwene the said parties, which the Lord Cardinall did after a sharpe reprehension in regard he was Contracted without the King and his Fathers knowledge; He sent for his Father, who came up to *London* very speedily, and came first to my Lord Cardinall, as all great Personages did, that in such sort were sent for, of whom they were advertised of the cause of their sending for; And when the Earle was come, he was presently brought to the Cardinall into the Gallery. After whose meeting, my Lord Cardinall and he were in secret communication a long space, after their long discourse, and drinking a cup of Wine, the Earle departed, and at his going away, hee sat downe at the Gallery end in the Hall upon a forme, and being set, called his Son unto him, and said; Son (quoth he) even as thou art, and ever hast beene a proud, disdainfull, and very unthrifty Master, so thou hast now declared thy selfe, wherefore what joy, what pleasure, what comfort, or what solace can I conceive in thee? That thus without discretion hast abused thy selfe, having neither regard to me thy Naturall Father, nor unto thy naturall Sovereigne Lord, to whom all honest and loyall Subjects beare faithfull obedience, nor yet to the prosperity of thine owne estate; But hast so unadvisedly ensnared thy selfe to her for whom

The Earle
come to the
Cardinall.

His sharpe re-
prooffe of his
Sonne.

whom thou hast purchased the Kings high displeasure intollerable for any Subject to sustaine. And but that the King doth consider the lightnesse of thy head, and wilfull qualities of thy person, his displeasure and indignation were sufficient to cast me, and all my posterity into utter ruine and destruction. But he being my singular good Lord, and favourable Prince, and my Lord Cardinall my very good friend, hath, and doth clearly excuse me in thy lewdnesse, and doe rather lament thy folly, then maligne thee, and hath advised an order to be taken for thee, to whom both I and you are more bound, then we conceive of. I pray to God that this may be a sufficient Admonition unto thee, to use thy selfe more wisely hereafter; For assure thy selfe, that if thou dost not amend thy prodigality, thou wilt be the last Earle of our house; For thy naturall inclination, thou art Masterfull and prodigall, to consume all that thy Progenitors have with great travell gathered and kept together with honour. But having the Kings Majesty my singular good Lord, I trust (I assure thee) so to order my succession, that thou shalt consume thereof but a little.

For I doe not intend (I tell thee) truly to make thee Heire for (thanks be to God) I have more boyes, that I trust will use themselves much better, and prove more like to wise and honest men, of whom I will choose the most likely to succeede mee.

The Earle
doth intend
to disinherit
him.

Now good Masters and Gentlemen (quoth hee) unto us, it may be your chances hereafter, when I am dead to see those things that I have spoken to my Sonne prove as true as I now speake them, yet in the meane time I desire you all to bee his friends, and tell him his faults, in what he doth amisse, wherein you shall shew your selves friendly to him, and so I take my leave of you; And Son goe your waies unto my Lord your Master, and serve him diligently; And so parted and went downe into the Hall, and so tooke his Barge.

He speakes to
the Servants.

Then after long and large debating the matter about the Lord Percies assurance to Mistris Anne Bullen, it was devised that the Contract should be infringed, and dissolved; And that the Lord Percy should marry one of the Earle of Straburghs Daughters. And so indeed not long after he did, whereby the former contract was broken and dissolved, wherewith Mistris Anne was greatly displeased, promising, that if ever it

He goes to
the King.

The Contract
between Lord
Percy and Mrs.
Anne Bullen
dissolved.
She much dis-
pleased thereat
She is dis-
charged the
Court,

lay in her power, she would doe the Cardinall some displea-
sure, which indeed she afterwards did. But yet he was not al-
together to be blamed, for he did nothing but what the King
commanded; whereby the Lord *Percy* was charged to avoyd
her company. And so was shee for a time discharged the
Court, and sent home to her Father, whereat she was much
troubled and perplexed. For all this time she knew nothing
of the Kings intended purpose. But we may see when Fortune
doth begin to frowne, how she can compasse a matter of dis-
pleasure through a far fetcht Mark; now therefore of the grudge
how it began, that in proceesse of time wrought the Cardinalls
utter destruction.

CHAP. X.

Of Mistris Anne Bullen her favour with the King.



H Lord, what a great God art thou, that workest
thy wonders so secretly, that they are not percei-
ved, untill they be brought to passe and finished.
Attend now good Reader to this story follow-
ing, and note every circumstance, and thou shalt
at the end perceive a wonderfull worke of God against such
as forget him and his benefits.

Her admit-
tance againe
to Court.

Therefore I say, consider after this my Lord *Percies* trou-
blesome businesse was over, and all things brought to an end;
Then Mistris *Anne Bullen* was againe admitted to the Court,
where she flourished in great estimation and favour, having
alwaies a prime grudge against my Lord Cardinall for brea-
king the Contract betweene the Lord *Percy* and her selfe, sup-
posing it had bin his owne devise and no others. And shee at
last knowing the Kings pleasure, and the depth of his secrets,
then began to looke very haughtily and stout, lacking no man-
ner of rich apparrell, or Jewels that mony could purchase,

It was therefore imagined by many through the Court, that
she being in such favour, might doe much with the King, and
obtaine any suite of him for her friends. All this while being in
this estimation in all places, there was no doubt but good
Queene *Katherine*, having this Gentlewoman daily attending
upon

upon her, both heard by report, and saw with her eyes how all things tended against her good Ladyship, although shee seemed neither to Mistris *Anne Bullen*, nor the King to carry any sparke of discontent, or displeasure, but accepted all things in good part, and with great wisdom, and much patience dissembled the same, having Mistris *Anne Bullen* in more estimation for the Kings sake, then when she was with her before, declaring her selfe indeed to be a very patient *Grissell*, as by her long patience in all her troubles shall hereafter more plainly appeare.

Queene Katherine her Patience

For the King was now so enamoured of this young Gentlewoman, that hee knew not how sufficiently to advance her.

This being perceived by all the great Lords of the Court, who bore a secret grudge against my Lord Cardinall, for that they could not rule in the Kingdome as they would for him, because he was *Dominus fac totum* with the King, and rul'd as well the great Lords, as the meane Subjects; whereat they tooke an occasion to work him out of the Kings favour, and consequently themselves into more estimation.

And after long and secret consultation with themselves how to bring this matter to passe; They knew very well that it was somewhat difficult for them to doe absolutely of themselves; Wherefore they perceiving the great affection and love the King bare to Mistris *Anne Bullen*, supposing in their judgments, that she would be a fit Instrument to bring their earnest intentions to passe, therefore they often consulted with her to that purpose, and she having both a very good wit, and also an inward grudge and displeasure against my Lord Cardinall, was ever as ready to accomplish their desires, as they were themselves, wherefore there was no more to doe but onely to imagine an occasion to worke their malice by some pretended circumstances. Then did they daily invent divers devises how to effect their purpose, but the enterprise thereof was so dangerous, that though they would faine have attempted the matter with the King, yet durst they not, for they knew the great zeale the King did beare unto the Cardinall, and this they knew very well, that if the matter they should propound against him was not grounded upon a just and urgent cause, the Kings love was such towards him, & his wish such withall,

A Plot of the Nobility against the Cardinall.

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withall, that he could with his policy vanquish all their enterprises, and then after that requite them in the like nature, to their utter ruine.

The Cardinall
endeavours to
get her fauour

Therefore they were compelled to forbear their plots till they might have some better ground to worke upon. And now the Cardinall seeing the great zeale the King bore to this Gentlewoman, framed himselfe to please her, as well as the King. To that end therefore he prepares great Banquets and Feasts to entertaine the King and her at his owne house; She all this while dissembling the secret grudge in her breast; Now the Cardinall began to grow into wonderfull inventions not heard of before in England, and the love betweene this glorious Lady and the King, grew to such perfection, that diuers things were imagined, whereof I forbear here to speake, untill I come to the proper place.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Variance betweene the French King, and the Duke of Burbon, who fled to the City of Pavia, where the King besieged him.



Hen began a certaine grudge betweene the French King, and the Duke of Burbon to breake out; Insomuch that the Duke being now at variance with the house of France, was compelled for safe-guard of his life to fly, and forsake his Country, fearing the Kings malice and indignation.

A Plot of the
Cardinall.

The Duke of
Burbon fled
to the Empe-
rour.

The Cardinall having intelligence hereof, contrived that the King our Sovereigne Lord should obtaine the Duke to be his Generall in his warres against the French King, with whom our King had then an occasion to warre, and the rather, because the Duke of Burbon was fled to the Emperour to invite him unto a like purpose, where he moved the King in this matter. And after the King was advised thereof, and conceived the Cardinalls invention, he mused more and more of this matter, untill it came into a Consultation amongst the Counsell, so that it was concluded, that an Ambassadour should be sent

sent to the Emperour about this matter; And it was further concluded, that the King and Emperour should joyne in those wars against the French King, and that the Duke of Burbon should be the King of Englands Champion, and Generall in the field, who had a number of good souldiers over and besides the Emperours Army which was not small, and that the King should pay the Duke monethly wages for himselfe and his retinue.

King Henry
joyneth his
forces with
the Emperour
against the
French King.
The Duke
the King of
Englands
Generall.

For which purpose Iohn Russell, who was afterwards created Earle of Bedford lay continually beyond the Seas in a secret place, both to receive mony from the King, and to pay the same monthly to the Duke, so that the Duke began the wars with the French King in his owne Territories and Dikedome which the King had gotten into his owne hands, being not perfectly knowne to the Dukes enemies, that he had any aid from our Sovereigne Lord, and thus hee wrought the French King much displeasure, in asmuch that the French King was constrained to prepare a present Army, and in his owne person to resist the Dukes power. And battell being joyned, the King drove him to take Pavia, a strong Towne in Italy, with his host of men for his security, where the King encamped himselfe wonderfully strong, intending to close the Duke within the Town, lest he should issue out, and skirmish with him.

The French
King in per-
son with an
Army.

The Duke
flies to Pavia,
and is there
besieged by the
French King.

The French King in his Campe sent secretly into England a private person (being a very witty man) to treat of a Peace betweene his Master, and our Sovereigne Lord, his name was Iohn Iokin, who was kept as secretly as might be, no man having Intelligence of his arrivall; For he was no French-man borne, but an Italian, a man of no great estimation in France, nor knowne to be much in his Masters favour, but taken to be a Merchant; And for his subtil wit, was elected to treat of such an Embassage as the French King had given him in Commission.

The French
Ambassadour
treats of peace
with England.

This Jokin was secretly conveyed to Richmond, and there stayed untill such time as the Cardinall resorted thither to him, where after Easter Terme was ended, hee kept his Feast of Whitsontide very solemnly; In which season my Lord Cardinall caused this Jokin drivers times to dine with him, who seemed to be both witty, and of good behaviour, hee continued long in England after this, till at the last (as it should seeme) he had

E

brought

Command
sent to Sir Iohn
Russell to de-
tain the Kings
pay.

brought the matter, which hee had in Commission to passe;
Whereupon the King sent out immediately a restraint unto Sir
Iohn Russell, that he should retaine that moneth pay still in
his hands, untill the Kings pleasure should be further made
knowne, which should have bin paid to the Duke, being then
encamped within the Town of Pavia. For want of which mony
the Duke and his men were much dismayed, when they saw no
mony come as it was wont to doe, and being in this dangerous
case where victuals began to be scant, and very deare, they
imagined many waies what should be the reason that the Kings
mony came not, some said this, and some said that, mistrusting
nothing lesse then the true cause thereof.

CHAP. XII.

*Of the Duke of Burbons Stratagem and Victory, wherein the
French King was taken Prisoner.*

The Duke and
his Souldiers
in extreame
w. nt.

The Dukes
loving advise.
A generall
consent,



Ow the Duke and his Souldiers were in great
misery for want of Victuals and other necessa-
ries, which they could by no meanes get within
the Towne; Hereupon the Captaines and Sould-
iers began to grudge and murmure, being for
want of Victuals all like to perish, and being in this extremity
came before the Duke, and said, Sir, we must of force and ne-
cessity yeeld to our enemies; And better were it for us so to
doe, then to starve like Doggs. But when the Duke heard
this, he replyed with weeping teares; Sirs, (quoth hee) you
have proved your ielves valiant men, and of noble hearts in
this service; and for your necessity, whereof I my selfe doe par-
ticipate, I doe not a little lament; But I shall desire you as you
are noble in heart and courage, so to take patience for two or
three dayes, and if succour come not then from the King of
England, (as I doubt nothing lesse) I will then consent to
you all to put our selves and lives unto the mercy of our ene-
mies; whereunto they all agreed, and tarried till two dayes
were past, expecting reliefe from the King; Then the Duke
seeing no remedy, called his noble Captaines and Souldiers
before him, and weeping; said; You Noblemen and Cap-
taines,

taines, we must yeeld our selves unto our Enemies, or else submit, and to yeeld the Towne and our selves, I know well the cruelty of our Enemies, as for my part I passe not for their cruelties, for I shall suffer death (I know very well) most cruelly, if I come once into their hands; It is not therefore for my selfe that I doe lament, it is for your sakes, it is for your lives, and for the safe-guard of your persons, for so that you might escape your enemies hands, I would willingly suffer death; good Companions, and noble Souldiers, (I doe require you all) considering the miserable calamities and dangers we are in at this present, to sell our lives most dearly, rather then to bee murdered like beasts; Therefore if you all consent with me, wee will take upon us this night to give our Enemies assault, and by that meanes we may either escape, or else give them an overthrow, for it wete better to dye in the field like men, then to live prisoners miserably in captivity, to which they all agreed.

The Dukes
subtile devise.

Then (quoth the Duke) you all perceive the enemies Campe is strong, and there is no way to enter upon them but one, and that entry is planted with great Ordnance & strength of men, so that it is impossible to attaine to our enemies, that way to fight with them in their Campe; And also now of late you perceive they have had but small doubt of us, in regard they have kept but slender Watch.

Therefore mine advise is, there shall issue out of the Town, in the dead time of the night from us a certaine number of you, that bee the most likely to assault the Campe, and they shall give the assault secretly against the place of the entry, which is most strong and invincible, which force and valiant assault shall be to them of the Campe so doubtfull, that they will turne the strength of the entry, that lyeth over against your assault, to beate you from your purpose. Then will I enter out at the Posterne gate, and come to the place of their strength newly turned, and there ere they be aware will I enter and fight with them in the Campe, and win their Ordnance, which they have newly turned, and beate them with their owne peeces, and then may you come and joyne with me in the field; So this devise pleased them all wonderfull well, and did then prepare themselves all that day for that devise, and kept themselves secret and close without any noyse or

They issue
out in the
night.

The Duke
issues out with
150. or 160.
men

He slew the
enemies, and
tooke the
Guns.

He wonne
the field.

He intended
to sack *Rome*,
but was there
slaine.

shot of peeces in the Towne, which gave the enemy the lesse feare of the assault, for at night they went all to their Tents, and couched quietly, nothing mistrusting what after happned; So in the dead of the night, when they all were at rest, the assailants issued out of the Towne, and there according to the Dukes appointment, they gave so cruell and fierce an assault, that they in the Campe had much adoe to withstand them. And then (as the Duke before declared) they within were compelled to turne the shot that lay at the entry against the assault; Then issued out the Duke, and with him about fifteene, or sixteene hundred men or more, secretly in the night. The enemy being ignorant of his comming untill he entred the field, and at his entry he tooke all the Ordnance that lay there, and slew the Gunners, then charged the Peeces against the enemies, and slew them wonderfully, and cut downe their Tents and Pavillions, and murdered many therein ere they were aware of his comming, suspected nothing lesse then his entry, so that he won the field ere the King could arise; So the King was taken in his lodging, before he was harnesssed. And when the Duke had won the field, the French King taken, and his men slaine, his Tents robbed and spoyled, and the Kings Coffers searcht, The Duke of *Burbon* found the league under the great Seale of *England*, newly made betweene the King of *England* and the French King, whereby he perceived the impediment of his mony which should have come to him from the King, having upon due search of this matter further intelligence, that all this businesse was devised by the Cardinall of *England*. Whereupon the Duke conceived such indignation against the Cardinall, that he went immediately to *Rome*, and there intended to sack the Town, and to have taken the Pope; But at the first assault of the Towne, the Duke was the first man that was there slaine, notwithstanding the Captaines continued their assaults. And at last many of the Towne fled with the Pope to the Castle of *Angell*, where he continued in great calamity.

I have written this History more at large, because it was thought of all this mischiefe, wherefore you may see whatsoever a man doth purpose, be he Prince or Prelate, yet God dispatcheth all things at his pleasure and will; It being a folly for any wise man to take upon him any weighty enterprize of
his

his owne will without calling upon God for his grace and assistance in all his proceedings.

I have seene Princes, either when they would call a Parliament, or any other great Assembly, that they would first call to God most reverently for his grace therein. And now I see the contrary, as it seemes they trust more to their owne minds and wills, then to Gods good grace. And even thereafter oftentimes doe their matters take effect; Wherefore not onely in this History, but divers others, may be perceived most evident examples. Yet I see no man almost in authority, or high estate regard the same, which is the greater pitty, and the more to be lamented. Now here I desist to speake any further of this matter; and to proceed to others,

CHAP. XIII.

Of the French Kings redemption out of captivity, and of the Cardinalls Embassage into France.

UPon the taking of the French King, there were divers Consultations and various Opinions amongst the Counsell: Some hold that our Sovereigne Lord the King could invade the Realm of France, he might easily conquer the same, for as much as the King with the most part of the Noble-men of France were in captivity. Some said againe, that the King our Master ought to have had the French King prisoner, forasmuch as he was taken by our Kings Champion, and Captaine Generall the Duke of *Burbon* and the Emperour. Inso-much that the King was advised thereby to occasion of warre against the Emperour, because he kept the King of France out of our Kings possession, with divers imaginations and devises as their fantasies served, which were too long here to relate.

Thus were they in long consideration, whereof every man in the Court talked as his fantasie served him, untill at the last divers Ambassadors from the Realme of France came to the King our Lord, desiring him to take order with the Emperour for the French Kings delivery, as his Highnesse wisdom should thinke best, wherein my Lord Cardinall bore great rule.

rule. So that after great deliberation and advise taken, it was thought good by the Cardinall that the Emperour should deliver the French King out of his ward upon sufficient pledges.

And afterwards it was thought meet, that the Kings two Sons (that is to say) the Dolphin and the Duke of *Orleans* should be deliuered in hostage for security of the Emperour, and the King our Sovereigne Lord, upon all such demands and requests as should be demanded of the French King, as well by the Emperour as by our Sovereigne Lord.

The Cardinall
endeavoureth
the peace of
the Pope, and
the French
King.

The Cardinall lamenting the French Kings captivity, and the Popes great adversitie (who yet remained in the Castle Angell, either as prisoner, or else for defence against his enemies, endeavoured and laboured all that hee could with the King and his Counsell to take some order for the quietnesse of them both.

At the last as you heard before, divers of the great States and Lords of the Councell, with the Lady *Anne* lay in continuall waite to spy a convenient occasion to take the Cardinall in a snare.

The Counsell
advised the
Cardinall to
goe of the
Embassage to
France.

Therefore they consulted with the Cardinall, and informed him that they thought it a necessary time for him to take upon him the Kings Commission, to travell beyond the Seas, and by his wisdom to compasse a present peace amongst these great Princes and Potentates, encouraging him thereto, and alledging that it was more meet for his wisdom, discretion, and authority to bring so weighty a matter to passe then any other within this Realme, their intent was no other but to get him from the King, that they might adventure by the helpe of their chiefe Mistresses to deprave him unto the King, and so in his absence bring him into his disgrace, or at the least to be in lesse estimation.

This was a
Plot.

The Cardinall
doth prepare
for his
Journey.

Wel, the matter was so handled that the Cardinall was commanded to prepare himselfe for the journey which hee tooke upon him, but whether willingly or not I cannot say. But this I know, that hee made so short abode after the perfect resolution thereof, that he caused all things to be prepared speedily for his journey. And every one of his Servants were appointed that should attend him in the same.

When all things were concluded and provided for this noble Journey, he advanced forwards in the name of God, My Lord

Lord had with him such of the Lords and Bishops as were not
of the Conspiracie.

Then marched he forward from his new house at *Westminster* through all *London*, over *London* bridge, having a great many of Gentlemen in a ranke before him in Velvet Coates, and the most part of them with chaines of Gold about their necks. And all his yeomen followed him with noble men, and great mens servants all in Orange-tawny coates, and the Cardinals hat with T. and C. for *Thomas* *Cardinall* embroydered upon them as well upon his owne servants Coates, as all the rest of the Gentlemen, and his sumpter Mules which were twenty and more in number: And when all his carriages and Carts, and othen his traine were passed before, hee rode very sumptuously like a *Cardinall* with the rest of his traine on his Mule with his spare Mule, and his spare horse covered with crimson Velvet, and gilt stirrops, following him. And before him he had his two great Silver Crosses, his two Pillars of Silver, the Kings broad Scale of *England*, and his *Cardinalls* Hat, and a Gentleman carrying his Ballance, otherwise called his Cloak-bagge, which was made of fine scarlet all embroydered very richly with Gold. Thus he passed through *London* as I said before, and all the way in his journey he was thus furnished, having his Harbengers in every place before which prepared lodgings for him and his said traine.

See his Magnificence.

The first Journey he made was two miles beyond *Debsford* in *Kent*, unto Sir *Richard Wilsbieres* house, the rest of his traine were lodged in *Debsford*, and in the Country thereabouts.

The next day he marched to *Rocheſter*, where he lay in the Bishops Pallace, and the rest were lodged in the City.

The third day he rode from thence to *Feverſham*, and there lodged in the *Abbey*, and his traine in the Towne, and some about in the Country.

He came to *Canterbury*.

The fourth day he rode to *Canterbury*, where he was kindly entertained by the Bishop of the City, and there he continued foure or five daies. In which season was the Jubilee, and a great Faire in the Towne, by reason it was the Feast of Saint *Thomas* their Patron, upon which day there was a solemne Proceſſion, wherein my Lord *Cardinall* was in his Legantine Ornaments, with his hat upon his head, who commanded the Monks and the Quire to sing the Latine after this sort: *Santa*

Maria

The Cardinal
commandeth
the Monks to
prey for the
Pope.

The Cardi-
nall wept.

He arrived at
Calice.

He gave the
people pardon.

Maria ora pro Papa nostro Clemente, and in this manner per-
used the Latine through : My Lord Cardinall kneeling at a
stoole before the Quire doore prepared for him, with Carpets
and Cushions : All the Monkes and the Quire stood in the
body singing the Letany, At which time I saw my Lord Car-
dinall weepe tenderly, the which *James*, I, and others concei-
ved to be for griefe, that the Pope was in such calamity and
danger of the Lance Knights.

The next day I was sent with Letters from my Lord to a
Cardinall in *Calice* in post, so that I was the same night in
Calice. At my arrivall I found standing upon the Peere with-
out the Lanthorne-gate all the Councell of the Towne, to
whom I delivered up my message, and my Letters before I
entred the Towne, where I lay untill my Lord came thither,
who arrived two daies after my comming thither before eight
of the clocke in the morning, and was received of all the noble
Officers and Councell of the Towne, and the Major of the
staple with Procession, the Clarkes being in rich Copes having
many rich Crosses.

In the Lanthorne-gate a stoole with Cushions and Carpets
was set for him where he kneeled, and made his prayers : At
which time they fenced him in with Seizures of silver and
sprinkled water, that done they passed on before him in Pro-
cession, untill he came unto Saint *Maries* Church, where at
the high Altar turning him to the people he gave them his Be-
nediction and pardon, and then he repaired with a great num-
ber of Noblemen and Gentlemen to a place in the Towne,
called the Chequer, where he kept his house so long as hee a-
bode in the Towne, going immediately into his naked Bed,
because he was somewhat troubled with sicknesse by reason of
his passage by Sea.

That night he called unto him *Monsieur de Bees*, Captaine
of *Bulloigne*, with divers other Gallants and Gentlemen, who
had dined with him that day, and having some further con-
sultation with my Lord Cardinall, he and the rest of the Gen-
tlemen departed againe to *Bulloigne*.

Thus my Lord was daily visited with one or other of the
French Nobility.

When all his traine and carriage was landed, and all things
prepared for his journey, his Grace called all his Noblemen
and

and Gentlemen into the Privie chamber, where being assembled before him, he said; I have called you hither to declare unto you, that I would have you both consider the duty you owe to me, and the good will I semblably beare to you for the same. Your intendment of service is to further the Authority I have by Commission from the King, which diligent observance of yours, I will hereafter recommend to his Majesty, as also to shew you the Nature of the French-men, and withall to instruct you with Reverence, you shall use me for the high honour of the Kings Majesty, and to informe you how you shall entertaine, and accompany the French-men, when you meete at any time.

The Cardinal
calls all his
followers into
his privie
Chamber.

The Cardinals
instructions to
his followers.

Concerning the first point you shall understand for divers weighty affaires of his graces, and for meere advancement of his royall dignity, hee hath assigned me in this Journey to bee his Lieutenant, what reverence therefore belongeth to mee for the same I will shew you.

By vertue therefore of my Commission and Lieutenantship, I assume and take upon me to bee esteemed in all honour and degrees of service as unto his Highnesse is meet and due, and that by me nothing bee neglected that to his state is due and appertinent; for my part you shall see that I will not omit one jot thereof. Therefore one of your chiefe causes of your Assembly at this time is to informe you that you be not ignorant of your duty in this; I wish you therefore as you would have my favour, and also charge you all in the Kings name, that you doe not forget the same in time and place, but that every of you doe observe his duty to me according as you will at your returne avoyd the Kings indignation, or deserve his Highnesse thanks; the which I will set forth at our returne, as each of you shall deserve.

Their duty to
him expressed.

Now to the second point, the nature of the French-men is such that at their first meeting they will bee as familiar with you, as if they had knowne you by long acquaintance, and will commune with you in their *French* tongue as if they knew every word, therefore use them in a kind manner and bee as familiar with them as they are with you, if they speake to you in their naturall tongue speake to them in *English*, for if you understand not them, no more shall they you. Then speaking merrily to one of the Gentlemen being a *Welshman*, Rise

The nature of
the Frenchmen.

(quoth he) speake thou welch to them and doubt not, but thy speech will be more difficult to them then their *French* shall be to thee. Moreover he said unto them all, let your entertainment and behaviour bee according to all Gentlemens in humility, that it may bee reported after our departure from thence, that you were Gentlemen of very good behaviour and humility; That all men may know, you understand your duties to your King, and to your Master. Thus shall you not onely obtaine to your selves great commendations and praises; But also greatly advance your Prince and Country.

The Cardinall
and his traine
goe from *Callis*

Now being admonished of these things prepare your selves against to morrow, for then we purpose to set forward. Therefore we his servants being thus instructed, and all things being in a readinesse proceeded forwards the next day being *Mary Magdalens* day, my Lord Cardinall advanced out of *Callis* with such a number of black Coates as hath bin seldome seene, with the Ambassadour went all the Peeres of *Callis*, and *Groynes*. All other Gentlemen, besides those of his traine were

His troops 3.
in ranke ex-
tended three
quarters of a
mile.

garnished with black Velvet coates and Chaines of gold. Thus passed he forward, with his troope before three in a Ranke, which compasse extended three quarters of a mile in length, having his Crosses, and all other his accustomed glorious furniture carried before him, as I have formerly related, except the Broad Seale, the which hee left with Doctor *Taylor*, then Master of the Rolls untill his returne.

The Cardinall
of *Lorraine*
meets my
Lord.

Thus passing on his way, we had scarce gone a mile, but it began to raine so vehemently, that I have not seene the like for the time, which endured untill we came to *Bulloigne*, and ere we came to *Standingfield*, the Cardinall of *Lorraine* a goodly young Gentleman gave my Lord a meeting, and received him with much joy and reverence, and so passed forth with my Lord in communication untill we came neare the said *Standingfield*, which is a Religious place standing betweene the *English*, *French*, and Imperiall Dominions, being a Newter, holding of neither of them. Then there wee waited for my Lord le Count *Brian* Captaine of *Picardy*, with a great number of Stradigatts or Arboncies standing in array in a great peece of greene Oates, all in harnesse upon light horses, passing on with my Lord in a wing into *Bulloigne*, and so after into *Picardy*, for my Lord doubted that the Emperour would

Captaine of
Picardy.

lay

lay some Ambushment to betray him, for which cause he com-
manded them to attend my Lord for the safety of his own per-
son, to conduct him from the danger of his enemies.

The French
King sent a
Convoy.

Thus rode he accompanied untill he came nigh to *Bulloigne*
within an English mile, where all the worshipfull Citizens of
Bulloigne came and met him, having a learned man that made
an Oration in Latine to him, unto the which my Lord made
answer, and that done, *Monsieur de Bees* Captain of *Bulloigne*
with his retinue met him on horse-back with all his Assem-
bly. Thus he marched into the Towne, lighting at the Abbey
gate, from whence he was conveyed into the Abbey with Pro-
cession, and there they presented him with the Image of our
Lady, commonly called our Lady of *Bulloigne*, where was
alwaies great offerings; That done, he gave his blessing to the
people, with certaine daies of pardon; Then went he into the
Abbey to his lodging, but all his traine were lodged in the
high base Towne.

His entertain-
ment in *Bul-
loigne*.

The next day after he had heard Masse, he rode to *Muterill*,
where he was in like manner saluted by the worshipfull of the
Towne all in livery alike, where also a learned Oration was
made to him in Latine, which his Grace answered againe in
Latine. And as he entred in at the Gate, there was a Canopy
of Silke imbroydered with like Letters, as his men had on
their Coates. And when he was alighted, his Footmen had it
as due to their Office. There was also made Pageants for joy
of his coming, who was called in the French Tongue, whi-
ther ever he rode or came, *Le Cardinall de Paisagus*, and in
Latine *Cardinalis Paisagus*, who was accompanied all that
night with the Gentlemen of the Country thereabouts.

Also at *Mu-
terell*.

A Latine
Oration.

Pageants
made for joy.

The next day he tooke his journey towards *Aboville*, where
he was in like manner entertained, and conveyed into the
Towne, and most honourably welcomed with divers kinds
of Pageants both costly, and wittily contrived to every tur-
ning of the streets, as he rode through the Towne, having a
Canopy borne over him, richer then at *Muterill*, and so con-
veyed him to his lodging, which was a faire house newly built
with Brick, at which house the French King *Lewis* was mar-
ried to the Kings Sister, which was married after to the Duke
of *Sassolke*. In this Towne of *Aboville* he remained eight or
nine daies, where resorted unto him divers of the French Kings

His entertain-
ment at *Abo-
ville*.

Counsell, every day continually feasting, and entertaining him, and the other Lords.

At the time of his departing out of the Towne, he rode to a Castle beyond the water, called by some *Le Channell Percequaine*, standing and adjoyning to the said water upon a great Hill and Rock, within the which there was a Colledge of Priests; The scituation whereof was much like to the Castle of *Windsor* in *England*, and there he was received with a solemn Procession, conveying him first to the Church, and then to the Castle upon the Bridge over the water of *Some*, where King *Edward* the Fourth met with the *French* King, as you may reade at large in the Chronicles of *England*.

I left my Lord, and rode to *Amience* to see the King.

My Lord was no sooner seated in his lodging, but I heard, that the *French* King would come that day to the City of *Amience* which was not above sixe *English* miles from thence. And being desirous to see his comming thither, I tooke with me two of my Lords Gentlemen and rode presently thither: And being but strangers we took up our lodgings at the signe of the Angell, directly over against the West doore of the Cathedral Church *de nostre Dame*, where we stayed in expectation of the Kings comming: And about foure of the clocke came *Madame Regent* the Kings Mother riding in a very rich Charriot, and with her within was the Queene of *Navarre*, her Daughter, attended with a hundred or more of Ladies and Gentlewomen following, every one riding upon a white Palfrey, also her Guard which was of no small number. And within two daies after the King came in with a great Shot of Guns, and there was divers Pageants made onely for joy of his comming, having about his person and before him a great number of Noblemen and Gentlemen in three companies. The first, were of *Swithers* and *Burgonians* with Guns; The second, were *Frenobmen* with Bowes; The third, were *le Carpe-fall Scottishmen*, who were more comely persons then all the rest. The *French* Guard and *Scottish* had all one Livery, being apparelled with rich Coates of white Cloth, with a rich guard of silver Bullione of a handfull broad: The King came riding on a rich Jennet, and did alight at the said great Church, and was conveyed with procession to the Bishops Pallace where he was lodged. The next morning, I rode againe to *Picqueny* to attend upon my Lord, and when I came, my Lord was ready

First came
Madam Regent

Two daies after
the King,
attended by
Swithers, *Bur-*
gonians,
French, and
Scottish.

ready

ready to goe on horſe-back to ride towards *Amience*, and paſſing on his way, he was ſaluted by divers Noble perſonages making him Orationes in Latine, to whom my Lord made answer *ex tempore*.

Then was word brought him that the King was ready to meete him, wherefore he had no other ſhift, but to fight at an old Chappell that ſtood hard by the high way, and there hee newly apparrelled himſelfe in rich array; and ſo mounted againe upon another Mule very richly trapped with a ſcoote cloath of crimſon velvet purſed with gold, and fringed about the edges with a fring of gold very coſtly, his ſtirrups of ſilver gilt, the Boſſes of the ſame, and the checkes of his Mules bit were all gilt with fine gold, and by that time he was mounted again in this gorgeous manner, the King was come very neare within leſſe then an *English* quarter of a mile, his guard ſtanding in array upon the top of an high Hill expecting my Lords comming; to whom my Lord made as much haſt as conveniently he could untill hee came within a paire of Buts length, and there he ſtayed. The King perceiving that, cauſed *Monsieur van de Mount* to iſſue from him, and to ride to my Lord Cardinall to know the cauſe of his tarrying, and ſo *Monsieur van de Mount* being mounted upon a very faire Jennet tooke his race with his horſe till he came even to my Lord, and then he cauſed his horſe to come aloſt twice or thrice to meete my Lords Mule, that he was in doubt of his horſe and ſo alighted, and in humble reverence did his Meſſage to my Lord, that done he repaired to the King.

And then the King advanced forwards, ſeeing my Lord doe the like, and in the mid way, they meete embracing each other with amiable countenances. Then came into the place all Noblemen and Gentlemen on both parts who made a mighty preſſe.

Then the Kings Officers cryed *penant de la van, March, March*: So the King with the Lord Cardinall on his right hand rode towards *Amience*; Every *English* Gentleman being accompanied with an other of *France*. The traine of theſe two great Princes was two miles in length, that is to ſay, from the place of their meeting unto *Amience* where they were nobly received with Guns and Pageants, untill the King had brought my Lord to his lodging, and then departed for that night. The

The Cardinall
put on rich
raiments.

The French
King and the
Cardinall meet

They March;
the Cardinall
on the Kings
right hand,

King being lodged in the Bishops Pallace : And the next day after dinner, my Lord rode with a great traine of *English* Noblemen and Gentlemen unto the Court to the King, at which time, the King kept his Bed, yet nevertheless, my Lord came into his Bed-chamber, where on the one side of the Bed sate the Kings Mother, and on the other side, the Cardinall of *Lorraine* accompanied with divers other Gentlemen of *France*, and after some communication, and drinking of wine with the Kings Mother, my Lord departed and returned to his owne Lodging, accompanied with divers other Lords and Gentlemen.

The King
and Cardinall
at *Amience* 14.
dayes.

They remo-
ved from *A-
mience* to
Campaine.

*Monsieur
Crookesly* his
going to invite
the King and
the Cardinall
to his Castle.

Thus continued my Lord at *Amience*, and also the King 14. dayes feasting each other divers times, and there one day at *Massie*, the King and my Lord received the holy *Sacrament*, as also the *Queene Regent* and the *Queene of Navarre*, after that it was determined, that the King and my Lord should remove, and so they rode to a City called *Campaine*, which was more then 20. miles from *Amience*, unto which Towne I was sent to provide lodging for my Lord, and in my travell, I having occasion to stay by the way at a little Village to shoe my horse; There came to me a servant from the Castle there perceiving me to be an *Englishman*, and one of my Lord Legates servants (as they then called my Lord) desired mee to goe into the Castle to the Lord his Master, whom hee thought would be very glad to see me, to whom I consented, because I desired acquaintance with strangers, especially with men of authority and honourable ranke; so I went with him, who conducted me to the Castle, and at my first entrance, I was among the Watchmen who kept the first ward, being very tall men and comely persons, who saluted mee very kindly; and knowing the cause of my comming, they advertised their Lord and Master: and forthwith the Lord of the Castle came out unto me, whose name was *Monsieur Crookesly* a Nobleman borne; and at his comming he embraced me, saying, that I was heartily welcome, and thanked me; that was so gentle as to visite him, and his Castle; saying, that he was preparing to meete the King, and my Lord Cardinall, and to invite them to his Castle; and when he had shewed me the strength of his Castle, and the Walls which were 14. foot broad, and I had scene all the houses, he brought me downe into a faire inner Court

Court where his Jennet stood ready for him with 12. other of the fairest Jennets that ever I saw, especially his owne, which was a Mare : which Jennet he told me he had 400. crownes offered for her; Upon these 12. Jennets were mounted 12. goodly Gentlemen, called Pages of honour, they rode all bare-headed in Coates of cloth of gold guarded with blacke velvet, and they had all of them Boots of red *Spanish* leather.

Then tooke he his leave of mee, commanding his Steward, and other of his Gentlemen to conduct me to his Lady to dinner; So they led mee up to the Gate-house, where then their Lady and Mistris lay for the time that the King and the Cardinall should tarry there. And after a short time the Lady *Crookesly* came out of her Chamber into the dyning roome, where I attended her coming, who did receive me very Nobly, like her selfe, shee having a traine of twelve Gentlemen that did attend on her, Forasmuch (quoth she) as you are an *English* Gentleman, whose custome is to kisse all Ladies and Gentlewomen in your Country without offence, yet is it not so in this Realm; Notwithstanding, I will bee so bold as to kisse you, and so shall you salute all my maids. After this wee went to dinner, being as nobly served as ever I saw any in *England*, passing all dinner time in pleasing discourses.

The Cardinals
servant nobly
entertained.

The Lady sa-
lutes him her
selfe.

And shortly after dinner I tooke my leave, and was constrained that night to lye short of *Campanie*, at a great walled Towne called *Moundredrey*, the Suburbs whereof my Lord of *Suffolke* had lately burned; and early in the morning I came to *Campanie*, being Saturday, and Market day, where at my first coming I tooke up my Inn over against the Market place, and being set at dinner in a faire Chamber that looked out into the street, I heard a great noise and clattering of bills; and looking out, I saw the Officers of the Towne bringing a Prisoner to execution, and with a Sword cut off his head. I demanded what was the offence, they answered me, for killing of Red deare in the Forrest neare adjoyning. And incontinently they held the poore mans head upon a Pole in the Market place between the Staggs hornes, and his foure quarters set up in foure places of the Forrest.

Having prepared my Cardinalls lodgings in the great Castle of the Towne, and seene it furnished, my Lord had the one halfe assigned, and the King the other halfe, and in like manner

manner

The French King, the Lord Cardinall, and the Queene Regent lodged all in one Castle.

The Cardinall fell out with the Chancellour of France.

The Cardinall departs in anger.

Great meanes used to bring him againe to consultation.

maner they divided the Gallery betweene them; And in the middest thereof, there was made a strong Wall with a Window and a Doore, where the King and my Lord did often meete and talke, and divers times goe one to the other through the same Doore. Also there was lodged in the same Castle Madam Regent the Kings Mother, and all the Ladies and Gentlewomen that did attend on her.

Not long after came the Lord Chancellour of France, a very witty man, with all the Kings grave Counsellours, where they tooke great paines daily in consultation. At which time I heard my Lord Cardinall fall out with the Chancellour of France, laying to his charge, that he went about to hinder the League which before his comming was concluded upon, by the King our Sovereigne Lord, and the French King their Master. Insomuch that my Lord stomacked him stoutly, and told him it was not he that should infringe the amiable friendship. And if the French King his Master being there present would follow his the Chancellours Counsell, hee should not faile shortly after his returne to feele the smart, what it was to maintaine War against the King of England, and thereof hee should be well assured; insomuch that his angry speech and bold countenance made them all doubt how to quiet him to the Councell, who was then departed in a great fury.

Now here was sending, here was comming, here was intreating, and here was great submission and intercession made unto him to reduce him to his former communication, who would in no waies relent untill Madam Regent came to him her selfe, who handled the matter so well that she brought him to his former communication, and by that meanes, he brought all things to passe, that before hee could not compasse, which was more out of feare then affection the French King had to the matter in hand; for now he had got the heads of all the Councell under his girdle.

The next morning after this conflict, the Cardinall arose about 4. of the clock, and sate him downe to write Letters into England unto the King, commanding one of his Chaplaines to prepare him ready; Insomuch that the Chaplaine stood ready in his Vestures untill foure of the clocke in the after-noon. All which season my Lord never rose to any meate, but continually writ Letters with his owne hand; And about foure

of the clocke in the afternoone hee made an end of writing, The Cardinall commanding one *Christopher Gunner* the Kings Serjeant to prepare himselfe without delay to ride Post into *England* with his Letters whom he dispatcht away ere ever he dranke. That done, hee went to Masse and Matins, and other devotions with his Chaplaine, as hee was accustomed to doe, and then went to walke in a Garden the space of an houre and more, and then said Evening Song, and so went to dinner and supper, making no long stay, and so went to bed.

writes Letters
into Eng'and.
He senes Post
into England.

The next night following, my Lord caused a great supper to be made, or rather a Banquet for *Madam Regent* and the Queene of *Navarre*, and other Noble Personages, Lords and Ladies. At which supper was *Madam Lewis*, one of the Daughters of *Lewis* the last King, whose sister lately dyed, these two Sisters were of their Mother Inheritours of the Dutchie of *Brittaine*. And forasmuch as King *Francis* had married one of the Sisters by which he had one Moytie of the said Dutchie, he kept the said *Madam Lewis* the other Sister without marriage, to the intent the whole Dutchie might descend to him or his successours after his death for lacke of issue of her.

The Cardinall
feasts two
Queenes.

But now let us returne to the Supper or Banquet, where all those Noble personages were highly feasted. And at the midst of the said Banquet the *French King* and the King of *Navarre* came suddenly in, who tooke their places in the lowest part thereof; There was not onely plenty of fine meats, but also much mirth and solace, as well in merry communication, as also the noyse of my Lords Musique, who played there all that night so cunningly, that the two Kings tooke great delight therein, insomuch that the *French King* desired my Lord to lend them unto him for the next night. And after the Supper or Banquet ended, the Lords fell to dancing, amongst whom one *Madam Fountaine* had the praise. And thus passed they the most part of the night ere they parted.

In comes the
French King,
and the King
of Navarre.

The French
King much ta-
ken with my
Lords Musicke.

The next day the King tooke my Lords Musicke, and rode to a Noblenians house, where was some living Image to whom he had vowed a nights pilgrimage. And to performe his devotion when he came there (which was in the night) he danced and caused others to doe the same, and the next morning hee returned to *Campanie*.

The French
King hunted
the wild Boare

The King being at *Campanie*, gave order that a wild Bore should bee lodged for him in the Forrest, whither my Lord Cardinall went with him to see him hunt the wild Bore, where the Lady *Regent* with a number of Ladies and Damsels were standing in Chariots looking upon the toyle, amongst these Ladies stood my Lord Cardinall, to regard the hunting in the Lady *Regents* Chariot. And within the Toyle was the King with divers Ladies of *France* ready furnished for the high and dangerous enterprize of hunting of this perillous wilde Swine.

The King being in his Doublet and Hose all of Sheepes colour cloth richly trimmed, in his slippe a brace of very great Gray-hounds, who were armed as their manner there is, to defend them from the violence of the Beasts tuskes. And the rest of the Kings Gentlemen that were appointed to hunt, were likewise in their Doublets and Hose, holding each of them a very sharpe Bores speare. Then the King commanded the Keepers to uncouch the Boare; And that every person within the Toyle should goe to a standing, amongst whom were divers Gentlemen of *England*.

The Boare presently issued out of his Denne, and being pursued by a hound came into the plaine, where hee stayed a while gazing upon the people, and the hound drawing neere him, he espyed a Bush upon a Banke; under the bush lay two *Frenchmen*, who fled thither, thinking there to be safe; But the Bore smelling them, and thrusting his head into the Bush, these two men came away from thence, as men use to fly from the danger of death.

Then was the Bore by violence of the Hunters driven from thence, who ran straite to one of my Lords Foot-men being a very tall man, who had in his hand an *English* Javelin, with which he defended himselfe a great while. But the Bore continued foaming at him with his great Tuskes; at the last the Bore broke in sunder his Javelin, so that hee was glad to draw his sword, and therewith stood upon his guard untill the Hunters came and rescued him, and put the Bore once againe to flight to an other Gentleman of *England*, one Mr. *Ratcliffe*, who was Sonne and Heire to the Lord *Princetown*, now Earle of *Suffex*, who by his Boares speare rescued himselfe. There were many other passages, but I forbear prolixity, and return to the matter in hand.

Many

Many daies were spent in consultation, and expectation of *Christopher Gunners* returne, who was formerly sent post into *England* with Letters, as I said before; At last hee returned with Letters, upon receipt whereof, my Lord prepared with all expedition to returne to *England*. Preparation to returne into *England*.

That morning that my Lord intended to remove being at Masse in his Closet, he Consecrated the Chancellour of *France*, a Cardinall, and put his Hat on his head, and his Cap of Scarlet, and then tooke his journey, and returned into *England* with all expedition he could, and came to *Sayne*, and was there nobly entertayned of my Lord *Stanes*, who was Capitaine of that place, and from thence went to *Callis*, where hee stayed a while for shipping of his goods. And in the meane time he established a worke to bee there kept for all Nations. But how long, or in what sort it continued, I know not; For I never heard of any great good it did, or of any Assembly of Merchants, or traffique of Merchandize that were brought thither for so great and mighty a matter, as was intended for the good of the Towne; This being established, hee tooke shipping for *Dover*, and from thence rode post to Court. The Cardinall that morning he came away made the Chancellour of *France* a Cardinall.

The King being then in his progresse at Sir *Henry Wyats* house in Kent, of whom I and other of his servants thought he should have bin nobly entertayned, as well of the King himselfe as of his Nobles: But wee were all deceived in our expectations: Notwithstanding hee went immediatly to the King after his returne, with whom he had long talke, and continued two or three daies after in the Court, and then retired to his house at *Westminster*, where hee remained till Michaelmas Terme, which was within a fort-night after, and there hee exercised his place of Chancellourship, as he had done before. He arrives at the Court

And immediately after the beginning of the Terme he caused to bee assembled in the Star-chamber all the Noblemen, Judges and Justices of the Peace of every Shiere throughout *England*, and were at *Westminster-Hall* then present. And there he made a long Oration, declaring the cause of his Embassage into *France*, and of his proceedings therein, saying that he had concluded such an Amity and peace, as never was heard of in this Realm, betwene our Sovereigne Lord the Kings Majesty, the Emperour and the French King; for a perpetuall The Cardinall maketh an oration in the Star-chamber.

A perpetuall
peace made
with *France*.

petuall peace, which shall be confirmed in writing, under the Seales of both Realmes engraven in Gold : Offering further that our King should receive yearly by that name out of the Dutchie of *Normandy*, all the charges and losses he had sustained in the wars.

And also for as much as there was a restraint made of the *French* *Queenes* Dowry (whom the Duke of *Suffolke* had married) for many yeares together during the wars: It was concluded that shee should not onely receive the same according to her just right, but also the Arterages being unpaid during the said restraint should be perfected shortly after. The resort of Ambassadors out of *France* should bee such a great number of Noblemen and Gentlemen to confirme the same as hath not beene scene heretofore to repaire hither out of one Realme.

This peace thus concluded, there shall be such an amity betweene them of each Realme, and entercourse of Merchandise, that it shall be seene to all men to be but one Monarchie. Gentlemen and others may travell from one Country to another for their recreations and pleasure. And Merchants of either Country may trafficke safely without feare of danger. So that this Realme shall ever after flourish.

Therefore may all *Englishmen* well rejoyce and set forth the truth of this Embassie in the Country. Now my Masters beseech you and require you in the Kings behalfe, that yoI shew your selves as loving and obedient Subjects in whom the King may much rejoyce, &c. And so he ended his Oration, and brake up the Court for that time.

CHAP. X III.

*Of the French Ambassadors entertainment
and dispatch.*

NOW the great long looked for Ambassadors are arrived, being in number eight persons of the Noblest and most worthy Gentlemen in all *France*, who were nobly received from placeto place, and so conveyed through *London* to the Bishops Palace in *Pauls* Church-yard, where they were lodged,

lodged, to whom divers Noblemen resorted and gave them noble presents (especially the Major of the City of *London*) as Wines, Sugars, Beeves, Muttons, Capons, wild Fowle, waxe, and other necessary things in abundance for the expences of his house.

They resorted to the Court being then at *Greenewich* on Sunday, and were received of the Kings Majesty of whom they were entertayned highly.

They had a Commission to establish our Kings Highnesse in the order of *France*, to whom they brought for that intent a collar of fine gold, with a Michell hanging thereat, and Robes, to the said order apertaining, which were of blew velvet, and richly imbroydered, wherein I saw the King passe to the Closet, and after in the same to Masse.

And to gratifie the French King for his great honour, hee sent incontinently noble men here in *England* of the order of the Garter, which Garter the Herauld carried into *France* unto the French King to establish him in the order of the Garter with a rich Coller and Garter, and Robes according to the same: The French Ambassadors still remayning here, untill the returne of the English.

All things being then determined and concluded concerning the perpetuall peace; upon solemne Ceremonies and Oaths contained in certaine Instruments concerning the same, It was concluded there should be a solemne Masse long in the Cathedrall Church of *Pauls* in *London* by the Cardinall, the King being present at the same in his traverse to performe all things determined.

And for the preparation thereof, there was a Gallery from the West doore of *Pauls* Church through the body of the same up to the Quire, and so to the high Altar into the traverse. My Lord Cardinall prepared himselfe to sing the Masse, associated with twenty foure Myters of Bishops and Abbots, who attended him with such Ceremonies as to him were then due by reason of his Legative Prerogative.

And after the last *Agnus* the King rose out of the Travers and kneeled vpon a Carpet and Cushions before the high Altar, and the like did the great Master of *France* chiefe Ambassadour, that here presented the Kings person of *France*, betweene whom the Lord Cardinall divided the blessed Sacra-

The Embassadors establish our King in the order of *France*.

The King of *England* sent Ambassie into *France* to establish the French King in the order of the Garter.

The King of
England and
France Ambaf-
sadours receive
the Sacraments
to confirme the
perpetuall
peace.

The Articles
of peace read
by the Cardi-
nall.

The King
fubfcribeth and
fealeth.

The French
Nobility con-
veyed to Rich-
mond.

ment, as a perfect oath and bond for security of the said Cove-
nants, of the said perpetuall peace.

That done, the King went againe into the Travers, this
Masse being ended, which was solemnely sung both by the
Quire of the same Church, and all the Kings Chappell.

Then my Lord tooke and read the Articles of peace openly
before the King and all other, both English and French, and
there in sight of all the people the King put his hand to the
gold Seale, and subscribed with his owne hand, and delivered
the same to the grand Master of *France*, as his deed, who sem-
blably did the like; that done, they departed and rode home
with the Cardinall, and dined with him, passing all the day af-
ter in consultation of weighty affaires, touching the Articles
and conclusion of the said peace.

Then the King departed to *Greenewich* by water, at whose
departure it was concluded by the Kings devise, that all the
Frenchmen should remove to *Richmond* and hunt there: And
And from thence to *Hampton Court*, and there to hunt like-
wise. And the Lord Cardinall there to make a Banquet
or Supper or both, and from thence they should ride to *Wind-
sor*, and there hunt: And after returne to the King at *Greene-
wich*, and there to banquet with him before their departure.

This determined, they all repaired to their lodgings, then was
there no more to doe, but to make preparation in all things for
the entertainment of this great Assembly at *Hampton Court*, at
the time appointed by my L. Cardinall, who called before him
all his chief Officers, as Stewards, Treasurers, Clarkes, & Comp-
trollers of his Kitchen, to whom he declared his whole mind
touching the entertainment of the Frenchmen at *Hampton
Court*, to whom he also gave command neither to spare for any
cost or expences, nor paines to make them such a Triumphant
Banquet, as they might not onely wonder at it here, but also
make a glorious report to the great honour of our King and
this Realme.

Thus having made knowne his pleasure, to accomplish
his commandement, they sent out all the Carriers, Purveyers,
and other persons to my Lords friends to prepare: Also they
sent to all expert Cookes, and cunning persons, in the Art of
cookery in *London*, or elsewhere, that they might be gotten to
beautifie the noble Feast.

Then

Then the Purveyours provided, and my Lords friends sent in such provision that it was a wonder to see it.

The Cookes they wrought both day and night in many curious devises, where was no lacke of gold, silver, or any other costly thing: the Yeomen and Groomes of his Wardrobe were busied in hanging the Chambers with costly Hangings, and furnished the same with beds of filke and other furniture for the same in every degree.

Then my Lord sent me being his Gentleman Vsher, and The Roomes two other of my fellowes to fore-see all things touching our richly hung roomes to be richly garnished, wherein our paines was not small. But daily wee travelled up and downe from Chamber to Chamber to see things fitted.

Then wrought Joyners, Carpenters, Painters, and all other Artificers needfull, that there was nothing wanting to adorne this noble Feast: There was carriage and re-carriage of plate, stuffe, and other rich employments, so that there was nothing lacking that could bee devised or imagined for the purpose. There were also provided two hundred and eighty beds with all manner of furniture to them, too long here to be related.

The day assigned to the French-men being come, they were ready assembled before the houre of their appointment, wherefore the Officers caused them to ride to *Hannorth*, a Parke of the Kings within three miles of *Hampton Court*, there to spend the time in hunting till night, which they did, and then returned, and every of them were conveyed to their severall Chambers, having in them good fires and store of Wine, where they remained till Supper was ready.

200. and 300 beds prepared.

The ordering of the banquetting roomes.

The Chambers where they supped and banqueted, were adorned thus.

First, the great wayting Chamber was hung with very rich cloth of Arras, and so all the rest some better then others, and furnished with tall Yeomen to serve; There were set Tables round about the Chambers, Banquet-wise covered: Also a Cubbord garnished with white Plate, having also in the same chamber foure great plates to give the more light, set with great lights, a great fire of wood and coales.

The next Chamber was the Chamber of presence, richly hanged also with cloth of *Arras*, and a sumptuous cloth of State furnished with many goodly Gentlemen to serve. The

Tables

Tables were ordered in manner as the other were, save onely the high Table was removed beneath the cloth of State, towards the midst of the Chamber with six desks of Plate, garnished all over with fine gold, saving one pair of Candlesticks of silver and gilt, with lights in the same, the Cubbord was barred about that no man could come very neare it, for there were divers peeces of great store of plate to use, besides the plates that hung on the Walles to give light, were silver and gilt with waxe lights.

The *Frenchmen* conducted to supper.

The Cardinal comes in ere the second course.

Now were all things in readinesse, and supper fit, the principall Officers caused the Trumpeters to blow, to warne them to supper. Then the Officers conducted the Noblemen where they were to sup, and they being set the service came up, in such abundance both costlly and full of devises with such a pleasant noise of Musique, that the *Frenchmen* (as it seemed) were wrapt up in a heavenly Paradise. You must understand, that my Lord Cardinall was not there all this while. But the *French Monsieurs* were very merry, with their rich faire and curious cates and knacks. But before the second course, my Lord Cardinall came in booted and spurred suddenly amongst them, at whose comming there was great joy, every man rising from his place, whom my Lord Cardinall caused to sit still and keepe their places, and being in his Ryding apparel, called for his chaire and sat him downe in the midst of the high Table, and was there as merry and pleasant as ever I saw him in my life.

Presently after came up the second course, which was above roo. severall devises, which were so goodly and costlly, that I thinke the *Frenchmen* never saw the like.

But the rarest curiosity of all the rest, they all wondred at (which indeed was worthy of wonder) were Castles with Images in the same like Saint *Pauls* Church for the Modell of it, there were beasts, birds, fowles, personages most excellently made, some fighting with Swords, some with Guns, other with Crof-bowes, some dancing with Ladies, some on horsebacke with compleat Armour, jussling with long and sharpe speares, and many other strange devises, which I cannot describe: Amongst all, I noted, there was a Chef-board made of spice plate with men of the same, and of good proportion.

And because the *Frenchmen* are very expert at that sport,
my

my Lord Cardinall gave that same to a *French Gentleman*, commanding that there should be made a good case to convey the same into his Country.

Then called my Lord for a great boule of gold filled with Hipocras, and putting off his cap said; I drinke a health to the King my Sovereigne Lord, and next unto the King your Master. And when he had drunk a hearty draught, he desired the grand Master to pledge him a cup, which cup was worth 500. Markes; and so all the Lords in order pledged their great Princes.

The Cardinall drinks a health to both Kings.

Then went the cup merrily about, so that many of the *French-men* were led to their beds; then went my Lord into his privy Chamber making a short Supper, or rather a short repast, and then returned againe into the presence Chamber amongst the *French-men*, behaving himselfe in such a loving sort, and so familiarly towards them, that they could not sufficiently commend him.

And while they were in communication and pastime, all their livery were served to their Chambers, every Chamber had a Bason and Ewer of silver, and a great livery pot with plenty of wine and sufficient of every thing.

Thus furnished was every roome about the house: when all was done, then were they conducted to their lodgings.

In the morning after they had heard Masse, they stayed and dined with my Lord, and so departed towards *Windsor*: And as soone as they were gone, my Lord returned to *London*, because it was the midst of the Terme.

You must conceive the King was privy to this magnificent Feast, who then intended far to exceed the same, which I refer to the *Frenchmens* returne. Now the King had given command to his Officers to provide a far more sumptuous Banquet for the Strangers: then they had at the Cardinals, which was not neglected. After the returne of these Strangers from *Windsor*, which place they much commended for the scituation thereof, the King invited them to the Court where they dined, and after dinner they danced, and had their pastime till supper time.

Then was the Banquet Chamber in the little yard at *Greenwich* furnished for the entertainment of these Strangers, to which place they were conducted by the greatest personages

His Majesty invites the Strangers to the Court.

H

then

then being in the Court, where they did both sup and Banquet, but to describe to you the order hereof, the variety of costly dishes, and the curious devises my weake ability and shallow capacity would much eclipse the magnificence thereof. But thus much take notice of, that although that Banquet at Hampton Court was marvellous sumptuous, yet this Banquet excelled the same as much, as gold doth silver in value. And for my part I never saw the like.

In the midst of the Banquet, there was turning at the Barriers of lusty gent: in compleat Armour very gorgeous on foot, and the like on horse-backe: And after all this, there was such an excellent interlude made in Latine, that I never saw nor heard the like, the Actors apparrell being so gorgeous, and of such strange devises, that it passeth my poore capacity to relate them.

This being ended, there came a great company of Ladies and Gentlewomen, the chiefeest beauties in the Realme of England being as richly attired as cost could make, or Art devise to set forth their gestures, proportions or beauties, that they seemed to the Beholders, rather like celestiall Angels then terrestriall Creatures, and in my judgement worthy of admiration, with whom the gent: of France danced and masked, every man chausing his Lady as his fancy served: That done, and the Masquers departed, came in an other Masque of Ladies and Gentlewomen so richly attired, as I cannot expresse; These Ladies Masquers tooke each of them one of the Frenchmen to dance, and here note that these Noble women spoke all of them good French, which delighted them much to heare the Ladies speake to them in their owne language.

Thus triumphantly did they spend the whole night from five of the clocke at the night, unto two or three of the clock in the morning, at which time the Gallants drew all to their lodgings to take their rest.

As neither health, wealth, nor pleasure can alwaies last, so ended this triumphant Banquet, which being past, seemed in the morning to the Beholders, as a phantastique dreame.

Now after all this sollemne banquetting, they prepared with Bag and Baggage to returne. And thereupon repaired to the King, and in order, every man tooke his leave of his Majesty, and the Nobles, by whom the King sent his princely pleasure

and

Their preparation
for
France.

and commendations to the King their Master, thanking them for their paines. And after great communication had with the great Master of that Ambassage, he bad them adue.

They take
leave of the
King

Then they came to *Westminster* to my Lord Cardinall to doe the like, of whom he received the Kings reward, which I shall hereafter relate.

First, every man of honour and estimation had plate, some to the value of 2. or 300. pounds, and some of 400. pounds, besides the great gifts before received of his Majesty; As gownes of Velvet with rich furrres, great chaines of gold, and some had goodly horses of great value, with divers other gifts of great value, which I cannot call to remembrance; but the worst of them had the summe of 20. crownes, and thus being nobly rewarded, my Lord after humble commendations to the *French King* bad them farewell, and so they departed.

The Kings re-
ward.

And also of
the Cardinall.

The next day they were conveyed to *Dover* to the sea-side with all their furniture, being accompanied with many *English* young Gallants, and what report of their royall entertainment they made in their owne Country I never heard.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Kings discovery of his love to Mistris Anne Bulloigne to the Cardinall, with the Cardinals dislike, and also the opinions of all the learned Bishops in England, and forraigne Vniversities.

AFTER this beganne new matters which troubled the heads and imaginations of all the Court, wherewith all their stomacks were full, but little digestion, viz. the long concealed affection of the King to Mistris *Anne Bulloigne* now brake out, which his Majesty disclosed to the Cardinall, whose often perswasions on his knees tooke no effect.

My Lord thereupon being compelled to declare to his Majesty his opinion and wisdom in the advancement of the Kings desires, thought it not safe for him to wade too far alone, or to give rash judgement in so weighty a matter, but desired leave of the King to aske Counsell of men of ancient

and famous learning both in the Divine and Civill Lawes.

Now this being obtained, he by his Legatine Authority sent out his Commissions for the Bishops of this Realme, who not long after assembled all at *Westminster* before my Lord Cardinall. And not onely these *Prelates*, but also the most learned men of both *Universities*, and some from divers Cathedrall Colledges in this Realm, who were thought sufficiently able to resolve this doubtfull question.

The Kings
Case discussed
by an assembly
of Bishops.

At this learned assembly was the Kings Case consulted of, debated, argued and judged from day to day. But in conclusion when these ancient Fathers of Law and Divinity parted, they were all of one judgement, and that contrary to the expectation of most men. And I heard some of the most famous and learned amongst them say, the Kings Case was too obscure for any man, and the points therein were doubtfull to have any resolution therein, and so at that time with a generall consent departed, without any Resolution or judgement.

In this assembly of Bishops and divers other learned men, it was thought very expedient that the King should send out his Commissioners into all Universities in Christendome, as well here in *England*, as forraigne Regions, there to have this Case argued substantially, and to bring with them from thence every definition of their opinions of the same, under the Seale of every University, and thus for this time were their determinations.

Commissioners
sent to all
the forraigne
Universities.

And thereupon divers Commissioners were presently appointed for this designe: So some were sent to *Cambridge*, some to *Oxford*, some to *Lorraine*, others to *Paris*, some to *Orleanse*, others to *Padua*, all at the proper costs and charges of the King, which in the whole amounted to a great summe of mony: and all went out of this Realme, besides the charge of the Embassage to those famous and notable persons of all the Universities; especially such as bare the rule, or had the custody of the University Seales, were fed by the Commissioners with such great summies of mony, that they did easily condescend to their requests, and grant their desires.

By reason whereof all the Commissioners returned with their purpose, furnished according to their Commissions under the Seale of every severall University, whereat there was no small joy conceived of the principall parties. Insomuch that
ever

ever after the Commissioners were had in great estimation, and highly advanced, and liberally rewarded far beyond their worthy deserts. Notwithstanding they prospered, and the matter went still forward, having now as they thought, a sure staffe to leane upon.

These proceedings being declared unto my Lord Cardinall, The Cardinall he sent againe for the Bishops, to whom he declared the effect, sends againe of these Commissioners paines, and for assurance thereof, for the Bishops shewed them the instruments of each University under their severall Seales, and the businesse being thus handled, they went againe to consultation how things should be ordered.

At last it was concluded that it was very meete the King should send unto the Pope his Holinesse, the opinions of both Universities of *England*, and also forraigne Universities, which were manifestly authorized by their common Seales. And it was also thought fit the opinions of the worthy Prelates of *England* should be sent to the Pope, comprised in an instrument which was not long time in finishing.

Nor was it long after that the Ambassadours were assigned for this designe, who tooke their journey accordingly, having certaine instruments, that if the Pope would not thereupon consent to give judgement definitively in the Kings Case, then Embassadours to require an other Commission from his Holinesse to be granted to his Legate, to establish a Court here in *England*, for that purpose onely, to be directed to my Lord Cardinall Legate of *England*, and to Cardinall *Campain* Bishop of *Bath*, which the King gave him at a certaine time, when hee was sent Embassadour hither from the Pope his Holinesse, to determine and rightly judge according to their consciences. To the which, after long suite made, and for the good will of the said Cardinall, the Pope granted their Suite. The Pope doth grant their suite.

Then they returned into *England*, relating unto the King that his Graces pleasure should be now brought to passe substantially, being never more likely, considering the state of the Judges.

Long was the expectation on both sides for the coming over of the Legat from Rome, who at last arrived in *England* with his Commission, and being much troubled with the Gout, his journey was long and tedious ere hee could get to London, who should have bin most solemnly received at Blacke-heath; The Pope sends his Legate into *England*.

but he desired not to be so entertained with Pompe and vaine-glory; and therefore he came very privately on his own Horse without Temple-Bar called Bath-place, where hee lay, The House being furnished of all manner of Provision of my Lords. So after some deliberation and consultation in the ordering of the Kings businesse now in hand by his Commission and Articles of his Ambassage, which being read, it was determined that the King and the good Queene his lawfull Wife, should be judged at Bride-well and in Black-friers, and some place thereabouts the Court, to be kept for the disputation and determination of the causes and differences betweene the King and the Queene, where they were to repaire before these two Legates, who sat as Iudges; before whom the King and Queene were cited and summoned to appeare, which was a strange sight, and the newest devise that ever was heard or read of in any Story or Chronicle: A King and a Queene to be compelled to appeare in a Court as common persons within their owne Realme and Dominions, and to abide the Iudgements and Decrees of their Subiects, being a Prerogative belonging to the royall Diadem.

CHAP. XVI.

A new Court erected to determine the Kings Case, two Cardinals being Iudges, having power to convene the King and Queene, the issue thereof.

IT is a wonderfull thing to consider the strength of Princes Wills when they are bent to have their pleasure fulfilled, wherein no reasonable perswasions will serve the turn; how little doe they regard the dangerous sequels that may ensue as well to themselves as to their Subiects? And amongst all things there is nothing that makes them more wilfull then Carnall Love, and various affecting of voluptuous desires, wherein nothing could bee of greater experience then to see what inventions were furnished, what Lawes were enacted, what costly Edifices of noble and antient Monasteries were over-thrown, what diversities of opinions then arose, what ex-tortions

tortions were then committed, how many learned and good men were then put to Death, and what alterations of good antient Lawes, Customes, and charitable foundations were turned from the reliefe of the poore, to the utter destruction & defolation, almost to the subversion of this noble Realm.

It is a thousand pitties to understand the things that since have hapned to this Land, the prooffe whereof hath taught all us *English-men* lamentable experience. If mens eyes bee not blind they may see, and if their eares be not stopped they may heare; and if pittie be not exiled, their hearts may relent and lament at the sequell of this inordinate Love, although it lasted but a while. *O Lord God withhold thine indignation from us.*

You shall understand as I said before, that there was a Court erected at Black-Fryers London, where these two Cardinalls sate as Judges. Now will I describe unto you the order of the Court.

First, there were many Tables and Benches set in manner of a consistory, one seat being higher than another for the Judges aloft, above them three degrees high was a cloth of Estate hanged, and a chaire Royall under the same, wherein sate the King, and some distance off sate the Queene, and at the Judges feete sate the Scribes and Officers for the execution of the Proceffe. the chiefe Scribe was Doctor Stevens, after Bishop of Winchester, and the Apparatour who was called Doctor of the court, who was one Cooke of Westminster. Then before the King, and the Judges sate the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury Doctor Warham, and all other Bishops, there stood at both ends within, Counsellors Learned in the Spirituall Lawes, as well on the Kings side, as the Queenes side. Doctor Sampson, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, and Doctor Hall, after Bishop of Worcester, with divers others, and Proctors in the same Law, were Doctor Peter, who was afterwards chiefe Secretary, and Doct. Tregunne with divers others.

Now on the other side, there were counsell for the Queene, Doctor Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Doct. Standish Bishop of St. Asaph in Wales, two brave Noble Divines, especially the Bishop of Rochester a very Godly man, whose death many Noble men, and many worthy Divines much lamented, who lost his head about this cause ere it was ended upon *Tower hill*, as also another antient Doctor called Doctor

Ridley,

Kings Counsell.

Queenes Counsell.

The Bishop of Rochester lost his head for the Queenes sake.

The King and
Queene called
by the Cryer.

Ridley, a little man, but a great Divine. The Court being thus ordered as is before expressed, the Judges commanded the Cryer to proclaim silence, whilst the commission was both read to the Court and to the people there assembled: that done, and silence being againe proclaimed, the Scribes commanded the Cryer to call King Henry of England, whereunto the King answered and said, here; Then called hee againe the Queene of England, by the name of Katherine Queene of England, come into the Court, &c. Who made no answer thereunto, but rose immediately out of her chaire where shee sat: and because she could not come to the King directly, by reason of the distance, therefore she came round about the Court to the King, and kneeled downe at his feete saying these words in broken English, as followeth, viz.

The Queene
on her knees
pleades for her
selfe.

Sir quoth she, I beseech you doe me Iustice and right; and take some pity upon me, for I am a poore woman and a stranger, borne out of your Dominions, having here no indifferent Counsell, and lesse assurance of friendship: Alas Sir, how have I offended you, what offence have I given you, intending to abridge me of life in this sort? I take God to Witnesse, I have bin to you a true and loyall Wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure, never did I contrary or gaine-say your mind, but alwaies submitted my selfe in all things, wherein you had any delight or dalliance, whether it were little or much, without grudging or any signe of discontent: I have loved for your sake all men whom you have loved, whether I had cause or not, were they friends or foes; I have bin your Wife this twenty yeares; by whom you had many Children: And when I first came to your Bed, I take God to witnesse, I was a Virgin, whether it were true or no, I put it to your Conscience, if there be any cause that you can alledge, either of dishonesty, or of any other matter, lawfully to put me from you, I am willing to depart with shame and rebuke: but if there be none, then I pray you let me have Iustice at your hands.

She commen-
deth K. Henry
th 7.

The King your Father was a man of such an excellent wit in his time, that hee was accounted a second Salomon, and the King of Spaine my father Ferdinand, was taken for one of the wisest Kings that reigned in Spaine these many yeares. So they were both wise men and Noble Princes; and it is no question but they had wise Counsellours of either Realme, as be now at

this

this day, who thought at the marriage of you and me, to heare what new devises are now invented against me, to cause me to stand to the order of this Court. And I conceive you doe mee much wrong, may you condempne me for not answering, having no Counsell but such as you assigned me : You must consider that they cannot be indifferent on my part, being your owne Subjects, and such as you have made choyce of out of your own Counsell whereunto they are privy, and dare not disclose your pleasure.

Therefore I most humbly beseech you to spare me untill I know how my friends in Spaine will advise me : But if you will not, then let your pleasure be done.

And with that she rose, making a low Curtesie to the King, and departed from thence : all the people thinking she would have returned againe to her former Seate ; but she went presently out of the Court leaning upon the arme of one of her Servants, who was her generall receiver, one Mr. Griffith.

The King seeing that she was ready to goe out of the Court, commanded the Cryer to call her againe by these words, *Katherine Queene of England, come into the Court.* Lo, quoth Mr. Griffith, you are called againe : Goe on, quoth she, it is no matter, It is no indifferent Court for me, therefore I will not tarry, goe on your way ; and so they departed without any further answer at that time, or any appearance in any other Court after that.

The King seeing she was departed thus, and considering her words, said to the Audience these few words in effect.

Forasmuch quoth he, as the Queene is gone, I will in her absence declare unto you all : she hath bin to me a true obedient Wife, and as comfortable as I could wish or desire, shee hath all the vertues and good qualities that belong to a woman of her Dignity, or in any of meaner estate, her conditions will well declare the same.

The Kings commendations of his Queene in her absence:

Then quoth my Lord Cardinall, I humbly beseech your Highnesse to declare unto this Audience, whether I have bin the first and chiefe moover of this matter unto your Highnes, or no, for I am much suspected of all men.

My Lord Cardinall quoth the King, you have rather advised me to the contrary then been any mover of the same. The speciall cause that moved me in this matter, is a certaine scruple

The King declares himselfe to the whole Court:

ple that pricked my conscience, upon certaine words spoken by the Bishop of *Bayon* the French Ambassadour, who came hither to consult of a Marriage betwene the Princeesse our daughter the Lady *Mary* and the Duke of *Orleans*, second Sonne to the King of *France*, and upon resolution, and determination, hee desired respite to adverte the King his Master thereof, whether our daughter *Mary* should be legitimate in respect of my marriage with this woman being sometimes my Brothers wife, which words (I pondering) begot such a scruple in my conscience that I was much troubled at it, whereby I thought my selfe in danger of Gods heavy displeasure, and indignation, and the rather because hee sent us no issue Male, for all the issue Male that I have had by my wife dyed incontinently after they came into the world, which caused me to feare Gods displeasure in that particular. Thus my conscience being tossed in the waves of troublesome doubts, and partly in despaire to have any other Issue, then I had already by this Lady my now wife: It behooved me to consider the estate of this Realme and the danger it stands in for lacke of a Prince to succeed me. I thought it therefore good, in release of this mighty burthen on my Conscience, as also for the quiet estate of this Realme, to attempt a tryall in the Law herein: Whether I might lawfully take another wife without carnall concupiscence, by which God may send more Issue, in case this my first copulation was not good: I not having any displeasure in the person, or age of the Queene, with whom I could be well contented to continue, (if our marriage may stand with the Law of God) as with any woman alive, in which point consisteth all the doubt that we goe about, now to know by the Learned wisdom of you our Prelates and pastors, of this Realme and Dominion now here assembled for that purpose, to whose Consciences and learning I have committed the care and Judgment, according to which I will (God willing) be well contented to submit my selfe, and obey the same: And when my conscience was so troubled, I moved it to you my Lord of *Lincolne* in confession, then being my Ghostly Father: And forasmuch, as you were then in some doubt, you moved me to aske Counsell of the rest of the Bishops, whereupon I moved it to you my Lord Cardinall to have your License, forasmuch as you are Metropolitan, to put this

All the Kings Issue Male by the Queen dyed.

The chiefe point in the Kings case.

The King affirms he hath no dislike of the Queene.

this

this matter in question, and so I did to all you my Lords, to
 which you all granted under your Seals, which is here to shew,
 that is truth quoth the Bishop of *Canterbury*, and I doubt not
 but my Brothers will acknowledge the same. No Sir, not so,
 under correction, quoth the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, for you have
 not my hand and Seale: no quoth the King, is not this your
 hand and Seale, and shewed it to him in the Instrument with
 Seales? No forsooth quoth the Bishop, how say you to that,
 quoth the King, to the Bishop of *Canterburie*? Sir, It is his
 hand and Seale, quoth the Bishop of *Canterburie*. No my
 Lord quoth the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, indeed you were in hand
 with me to have both my hand and Seal, as other of the Lords
 had done, but I answered I would never consent to any such
 act, for it was much against my Conscience, And therefore
 my hand and Seale shall never bee set to such an Instrument
 (God willing) with many other words to that purpose: You
 say truth quoth the Bishop of *Canterburie*, such words you u-
 sed, but you were fully resolved at the last that I should sub-
 scribe your name, and put to your seale, and you would allow
 of the same, all which quoth the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, under
 correction my Lord is untrue: Well quoth the King, we will
 not stand in argument with you, you are but one: And so the
 King arose up, and the Court was adjourned untill the next
 day, at which time the Cardinalls sate againe, and the Counsel
 on both sides were there present to answer.

The King pro-
 duceth the Li-
 cence sealed by
 the Cardinall
 and the rest of
 the Bishops.

The Bishop of
 Rocheſter doth
 deny that ever
 he sealed or
 subscribed.

The Court ad-
 journ'd.

The Kings Counsell alleadge the matrimony not good nor
 lawfull at the beginning: Because of the carnall Copulation
 that Prince *Arthur* had with the Queene: This matter was
 very narrowly scanned on that side, and to prove the Carnall
 Copulation they had many Reasons and similitudes of truth,
 and being answered negatively againe on the other side, it see-
 med that all their former allegations were doubtfull to be try-
 ed, and that no man knew. Yes quoth the Bishop of *Roche-
 ſter* I know the truth, how can you know the truth quoth the
 Cardinall, more then any other person? Yes forsooth my
 Lord quoth he, I know that God is the truth it selfe, and never
 saith but truth, and he saith thus. *Quos Deus coniunxit ho-
 mo non separet.* And forasmuch as this marriage was joyned
 and made by God to a good intent, therefore I said I knew
 the truth, and that man cannot breake upon any wilfull action

The Kings
 counsell allede
 the Matrimo-
 ny not good
 nor lawfull.

The Queenes
 Counsell speak

Bishop of Ro-
 cheſter.

but which God hath made and constituted : So much doe all faithfull men know, quoth my Lord Cardinall, aswell as you, therefore this reason is not sufficient in this case, for the Kings Counsell do alleadge many presumptions to prove that it was not lawfull at the beginning, *Ergo*, it was not ordained by God, for God doth nothing without a good end, Therefore it is not to be doubted, but if the presumptions be true which they alleadge to be most true, then the conjunction neither was nor could be of God. Therefore I say unto you my Lord of *Rochester*, you know not the truth unlesse you can avoide their presumptions upon just reasons.

Doctor Ridley.

Then quoth Dr. *Ridley*, it is a great shame and dishonour to this honourable presence, that any presumptions should bee alleadged in this open Court, what quoth my Lord Cardinall *Domine Doctor Reverende*. No my Lord there belongs no

reverence to this matter, for an unreverent matter may be unreverently answered : And so left off, and then they proceeded to other matters. Thus passed this Court from Session to Session, and day to day, till a certaine day the King sent for the Cardinall to *Bridewell*, who went into the Privie Chamber to him where he was, about an houre, and then departed from the King, and went to Westminster in his barge, the Bishop of *Carlisle* being with him, said, it is a hot day to day, yea

The King sent for the Cardinall.

The Cardinal returns and goes home to bed.

quoth the Cardinall, if you had been as well chafed as I have been within this hour you would say you were very hot : my Lord no sooner came home but he went to bed, where he had not lyen above two houres, but my Lord of *Wiltshire* Mistris *Anne Bullens* Father, came to speak with him from the King: my Lord commanded he should bee brought to his beds side, who told him it was the Kings minde he should forthwith goe with the Cardinall to the Queene, being then at *Bridewell* in her chamber, and to perswade her through their wisedomes to put the whole matter into the Kings owne hands, by her consent, which should be much better for her honour, then stand to tetryall at Law, and thereby be condemned, which would tend much to her dishonour and discredit.

To performe the Kings pleasure, my Lord said he was ready and so prepared to goe, but quoth he further to my Lord of *Wiltshire*, you and others of the Lords of the Counsell, have put fancies into the head of the King, whereby you trouble all the

the Realme, but at the length you will get but small thanks both of God and the world, with many other earnest words and reasons, which did cause my Lord of Wiltshire to bee silent kneeling by my Lords beds-side, and in conclusion departed.

And then my Lord rose and tooke his Barge and went to Bath-house to Cardinall *Campaines*, and so went together to Bridewell to the *Queenes* lodgings, shee being then in her chamber of Presence, they told the Gentleman-Vsher that they came to speake with the *Queenes* grace, who told the *Queene* the Cardinalls were come to speake with her, then she arose up having a feane of red silke about her neck (being at worke with her maides) and came to the Cardinalls, where they stayed attending her comming, at whose approach quoth she. A-lack my Lords, I am sorry that you have attended on mee so long, what is your pleasures with me? If it please your Grace, quoth the Cardinall, to go to your priue chamber, wee will shew you the cause of our comming.

The two Cardinals went on a message from the King to the Queene.

My Lord said shee, if you have any thing to say to mee, speake it openly before all these folke, for I feare nothing that you can say to me or against me, but that I am willing all the world should both see and heare it, and therefore speake your mindes openly.

The Cardinals declares the cause of their going.

Then began my Lord to speake to her in Latin: nay good my Lord speake to me in English, quoth she, although I doe understand some Latin: forsooth quoth my Lord, good Madam, if it please your Grace, wee come both to know your minde what you are disposed to doe in this matter, and also to declare to you secretly our Counsels and opinions, which we do for very zeale and obedience to your Grace.

My Lords quoth she, I thanke you for your good wills, but to make answer to your requests I cannot so suddenly, for I was set amongst my maides at worke, little thinking of any such matter, wherein is requisite some deliberation, and a better head then mine to make answer, for I need Counsell in this case which concerns me so neare, and friends here I have none, they are in Spayne in mine owne Countrey: Also my Lords, I am a poore woman of too weake capacitie to answer such noble persons of wisdom as you are, in so weighty a matter. And therefore be good to me a woman destitute of friendship

Queens answer.

here in a forraigne Region, and your Counsell I also shall bee glad to heare, and therewith she tooke my Lord by the hand and led him into her privy chamber, with the other Cardinall, where they stayed a while, and I heard her voyce loud, but what she said I know not.

This done, they went to the King, and made a Relation unto him of the passages betweene the Queene and them, and so they departed.

This strange case proceeded and went forwards from Court day to Court day, untill it came to that, that every man expected to heare Judgement given, at which time all their proceedings were openly read in Latine. That done, the Kings Counsell at the Bar moved for Judgement, quoth Cardinall *Campaines*, I will not give judgement untill I have related the whole proceedings to the Pope, whose counsell and commandement I will in this Case observe: The matter is too high for us to give hasty judgement, considering the persons and the doubtfull occasions alleadged, and also whose Commissioners we are by whose authority we sit.

Cardinall Campaines refused to give judgement.

He makes a speech:

It is good reason therefore that wee make our chiefe Lord of Counsell in the same before we proceed to judgement definitive: I canie not to please for any favour, Reward, or feare of any person alive, be he King or otherwise, I have no such respect to the person, that I should offend my conscience. And the party Defendant will make no answer heere; but rather doth appeal from us; I am an old man both weake and sickly, and looke every day for Death, what shall it availe me to put my Soule in danger of Gods displeasure to my utter damnation, for the favour of any Prince in this World? My being here is onely to see Justice administred according to my conscience.

The Defendant supposeth that we be not indifferent Judges, considering the Kings high dignity and authority within his Realme. And we being both his Subjects, she thinks we will not doe her justice: and therefore to avoyd all thele Ambiguities, I adjourne the Court for the Time according to the Court of *Rome*, from whence our jurisdiction is derived: For if we should goe further then our Commission doth warrant us, it were but a folly and blame worthy; because then wee shall be breakers of the Orders from whom wee have (as I said) our authority derived; and so the Court was dissolved and no more done.

There-

(43)
Thereupon by the Kings Commandement stept up the Duke of *Suffolke*, and with a haughty countenance uttered these words : *The Duke of Suffolke confronts the Cardinals.*

It was never thus in England, untill we had Cardinals amongst us. Which words were set forth with such vehemency, that all men marvelled what he intended, the Duke further expressing some opprobrious words.

My Lord Cardinall perceiving his vehemency, soberly said : *The Cardinals mild answers*
Sir, of all men in this Realme you have least cause to dispraise Cardinals, for if I poore Cardinall had not beene, you should not at this present have had a head upon your shoulders, wherewith to make such a brag in dispute of us, who wish you no harme; neither have given you such cause to bee offended with us. I would have you thinke my Lord, I and my Brother with the King as much happinesse, and the Realme as much honour, Wealth, and peace as you, or any other Subject of what degree soever he be within this Realme, and would as gladly accomplish his lawfull desires.

And now my Lord, I pray you shew me what you would doe in such a Case as this, if you were one of the Kings Commissioners in a forraigne Region about some weighty matter, the consultation whereof was very doubtfull to bee decided; would you not advertise the Kings Majesty ere you went through with the same? I doubt not but you would; & therefore abate your malice and spight, and consider we are Commissioners for a Time, and cannot by vertue of a Commission proceed to judgement without the knowledge and consent of the head of the authority and lycence obtained from him who is the Pope. *His reason why he proceeds not to judgement:*

Therefore doe we neither more nor lesse then our Commission allowes us: and if any man will be offended with us, hee is an unwise man: Therefore pacify your selfe my Lord, and speake like a man of Honour and Wisedome, (or hold your peace) speake not reproachfully of your friends, you best know what friendship I have showne you: I never did reveale to any person till now, either to mine owne praise or your dishonour. Whereupon the Duke went his way, and *The Duke departed discontented:*
said no more, being much discontented.

This matter continued thus a long Season, and the King was

The King of-
fended.

The Cardi-
nals commissi-
on, his excuse.

was in displeasure against my Lord Cardinall, because his Suite had no better successe to his purpose.

Notwithstanding the Cardinal excused himself by his Commission which gave him no authority to proceed to judgement without the knowledge of the Pope, who reserved the same to himselfe. At last they were advertised by a Post that they should take deliberation in the matter untill his Counsell were opened, which should not be till *Bartholmew-tide* next.

The King thinking it would be too long ere it would be determined, sent an Ambassadour to the Pope to periwade him to shew so much favour to his Majesty, as that it might bee sooner determined.

Dr. Gardener
sent Ambassa-
dour to th' pope

On this Embassage went Doctor *Stephen Gardener*, then called by the name of Doctor *Steven*, Secretary to the King, afterwards Bishop of *Winchester*. This Ambassadour stayed there till the later end of Summer, of whose returne you shall hereafter heare.

CHAP. XVII.

Of certaine passages conducing to the Cardinals fall.



Now the King commanded the Queene to bee removed from the Court, and sent to another place, and presently after the King rode on Progressse, and had in his company Mistris *Anne Belloigne*; in which time Cardinall *Campaines* made suite to be discharged and sent home to *Rome*: and in the interim returned M. Secretary & it was concluded that my L. should come to the K. to *Grafton* in *Northampton-shire*; as also Cardinall *Campaines* being a stranger, should bee conducted thither by my Lord Cardinall. And so the next Sunday there were divers opinions that the King would not speake with my Lord; whereupon there were many great Wagers laid.

The Cardinal
sent for to the
Court

Theserwo Prelates being come to the Court, and lighting, expected to be received of the great Officers, as the manner was, but they found the contrary: Nevertheless because the Cardinall *Campaine* was a stranger, the Officers met him with staves in their hands in the outward Court, and so conveyed

veyed him to his lodging prepared for him; and after my Lord had brought him to his lodging he departed, thinking to have gone to his chamber as he was wont to doe. But it was told him he had no lodging, or chamber appointed for him in the Court; which newes did much astonish him. He found but small content.

Sir Henry Norris who was then Groome of the stoole, came unto him, and desired him to take his Chamber for a while untill another was provided for him, for I assure you, quoth he, here is but little roome in this House for the King, and therefore I humbly beseech your Grace accept of mine for a Season. My Lord thanking him for his curtesie, went to his chamber, where he shifted his riding apparrell.

In the meane time came divers Noblemen of his friends to welcome him to the Court, by whom my Lord was advertised of all things touching the Kings favour or displeasure; and being thus informed of the cause thereof, hee was more able to excuse himselfe.

So my Lord made him ready, and went to the chamber of Prefence with the other Cardinall, where the Lords of the Counsell stood all of a Row in order in the chamber, and all the Lords saluted them both: And there were present many Gentlemen, which came on purpose to observe the meeting and countenance of the King to my Lord Cardinall: Then immediately after, the King came into the Chamber of Prefence standing under the cloath of State. Great supposition of the Kings displeasure.

Then my Lord Cardinall tooke Cardinall *Campaine* by the hand, and kneeled downe before the King, but what hee said unto him, I know not, but his countenance was amiable, and his Majesty stooped downe, and with both his hands tooke him up, and then tooke him by the hand, and went to the Window with him, and there talked with him a good while.

Then to have beheld the countenance of the Lords and Noblemen that had laid Wagers, it would have made you smile, especially those that had laid their mony that the King would not speake with him.

Thus were they deceived, for the King was in earnest discourse with him, insomuch that I could the King, how can this be, is not this your hand, and pulled a Letter out of his owne bosome and shewed the same to my Lord. And as I perceived, my Lord so answered the same, that the King had no more to

say; but said to my L. Cardinal goe to your dinner, & take my Lord Cardinall to keepe you company, and after dinner I will speake further with you, and so they departed. And the King that day dined with Mistris *Anne Bullaigne* in her chamber.

Then was there set up in the Presence chamber a Table for my Lord, and other Lords of the Counsell, where they dined together; and sitting at Dinner telling of divers matters, The King, should doe well, quoth my Lord Cardinall, to send his Bishops and Chaplaines home to their Cures and Benefices. Yea marry, quoth my Lord of Norfolk, and so it were meete for you to doe also: I would bee very well contented therewith, quoth my Lord, if it were the Kings pleasure to lycence me with his Graces leave to goe to my Cure at *Winchester*: Nay quoth my Lord of Norfolk, to your Benefice at *Torke*; where your greatest Honour and charge is. Even as it shall please the King, quoth my Lord Cardinall; and so they fell upon other Discourses. For indeed the Nobility were loath he should be so neare the King, as to continue at *Winchester*. Immediately after Dinner they fell to counsell till the Waiters had also dined.

Mistris *Anne Bullaigne* offended for the Cardinalls entertainment.

She complains of him.

I heard it reported by those that waited on the King at dinner, that Mistris *Anne Bullaigne* was offended as much as she durst, that the King did so graciously entertaine my Lord Cardinall, saying, Sir, Is it not a marvellous thing to see into what great debt and danger he hath brought you, with all your Subjects? How so, quoth the King? Forsooth quoth she, there is not a man in all your whole Realme of England, worth a hundred pounds, but he hath indebted you to him, (meaning of Loan, which the King had of his Subjects.) Well, well, quoth the King, for that matter there was no blame in him, for I know that matter better then you, or any else.

Nay, quoth she, besides that, what exploits hath he wrought in severall parts and places of this Realm, to your great slander and disgrace? There is never a Nobleman, but if he had done halfe so much as hee hath done, were well worthy to lose his head. Yea, if my Lord of Norfolk, my Lord of Suffolke, my Father, or any other man had done much lesse then he hath done, they should have lost their heads ere this.

Then I perceive (quoth the King) you are none of my L. Cardinalls friends. Why Sir, quoth she, I have no cause, nor any

any that love you: No more hath your grace, if you did well consider his indirect and unlawfull doings.

By that time the Waiters had dined and tooke up the Table, and so for that time ended their Communication.

You may perceive by this how the old malice was not forgotten: but begins to kindle and be set on fire, which was stirred by this ancient enemies, whom I have formerly named in this treatise.

The King for that time departed from Mistris *Anne Bulloigne*, and came to the Chamber of presence, and called for my Lord, and in the great window had a long discourse with him, but of what I know not, afterwards the King tooke him by the hand and led him into the privie Chamber, and sate in Consultation with him all alone without any other of the Lords, till it was darke night, which blanked all his enemies very sore, who had no other way but by Mrs. *Anne Bulloigne*, in whom was all their trust and affiance, for the accomplishment of their enterprises, for without her they feared all their purposes would be frustrate.

Now at night was warning given me, that there was no roome for my Lord to lodge in the Court, so that I was forced to provide my Lord a lodging in the Countrey about *Easton* at one Mr. *Empstons* house, where my Lord came to supper by torch-light, being late before my Lord parted from the K. who willed him to resort to him in the morning, for that hee would talke further with him about the same matter, and in the morning my Lord came againe, at whose comming the Kings Majesty was ready to ride, willing my Lord to consult with the Lords in his absence, and said he would not talke with him, commanding my Lord to depart with Cardinall *Campaine* who had already taken his leave of the King.

The King
would not
talke with the
Cardinall.

This suddaine departure of the Kings, was the especiall labour of Mistris *Anne Bulloigne* who rode with him purposely to draw him away, because hee should not returne till the departure of the Cardinalls. The King rode that morning to view a peice of ground to make a parke of, which was afterwards and is at this day called *Harewell Parke*, where Mrs. *Anne* had provided him a place to dine in, fearing his return before my Lord Cardinalls departure.

Somy Lord rode away after dinner with Card. *Campaine*,

who tooke his journey towards Rome, with the Kings reward but what it was I am not certaine.

After their departure, it was told the King, that Cardinall *Campaine* was departed and had great Treasure with him of my Lord Cardinalls of England to be conueyed in great sums to Rome, whither they surmized he would secretly repair out of this Realm. Insomuch that they caused a Poste to ride after the Cardinall to search him, who overtooke him at Callis, and stayed him untill search was made, but there was found no more then was received of the King for a reward.

They search
the Cardinall
at Callis.

Now after Cardinall *Campaine* was gone, Michaelmas-Terne drew on, against which time my Lord Cardinall repaired to his house at Westminster, and when the Terme began, he went into the Hall in such manner as hee was accustomed to doe, and sate in the Chancery being then L. Chancellour of England, after which day he never sate more, the next day hee stayed at home for the comming of the Lord of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, who came not that day but the next: And did declare unto my Lord that it was the Kings pleasure he should surrender up the great Seale of England into their hands, and that he should depart unto Ashur, which is a house neare unto Hampton-Court belonging unto the Bishoprick of Winchester.

The K. sends
for the great
Seale.

He refuseth to
deliver up the
broad Seale.

The Cardinall demanded of them to see their Commission that gave them such authority, who answered again, they were sufficient Commissioners, and had Authority to doe no lesse from the Kings owne mouth, notwithstanding, he would in no wise agree to their demand in that behalfe, without further knowledge of their Authority, telling them that the great Seale was delivered to him by the Kings owne person to enjoy the Ministration thereof, together with the Chancellourship during the term of his life, whereof for surety hee had the Kings Letters Patents to shew, which matter was much debated betweene him and the Dukes with many great words which he tooke patiently, insomuch that the Dukes were faine to depart without their purpose at that time, and returned to Windsor to the King, and the next day they returned to my Lord with the Kings Letters, whereupon in obedience to the Kings command, my Lord delivered to them the broad Seale, which they brought to Windsor to the King.

Then

Then my Lord called his Officers before him, and tooke account of all things they had in their charge, and in his Gallery were set divers Tables upon which were layed divers and great store of rich stuffes, as whole peeces of silke of all colours, Velvets, Sattins, Muskes, Tiffanies, Grogarams, Scarlets, and divers rich commodities. Also there were 1000. peeces of fine Hollands, and the hangings of the Gallery were cloth of Gold, and cloath of Silver, and rich cloth of Bodkin of divers colours which were hanged in expectation of the Kings coming.

The Car. sets
his house in
order.

Also of one side of the Gallery were hanged rich suites of Copes of his owne providing, which were made for Colledges at Oxford and Ipswich, they were the richest that ever I saw in all my life; Then had he two chambers adjoyning to the Gallery, the one most commonly called the gilt Chamber, the other the Counsell Chamber, wherein were set two broad and long Tables, whereupon was set such abundance of Plate of all sorts, as was almost incredible to be believed, a great part being all of cleane gold, and upon every Table and Cupboard where the Plate was set were Bookes importing every kind of plate and every piece with the contents and the weight thereof.

Thus were all things furnished and prepared giving the charge of the said stufle, with other things remaining in every Office, to be delivered to the King, as hee gave charge, all things being ordered as is before rehearsed, my Lord prepared to depart and resolved to goe by water, but before his going Sir William Gascoigne being his Treasurer came unto him and said, Sir quoth he, I am sorry for your Grace, for I heare you are straight to goe to the Tower; Is this the best comfort quoth my Lord, you can give to your Master in adversity? It hath alwaies bin your inclination to bee light of credit, and much lighter in reporting of lyes, I would you should know Sir William and all those reporters too, that it is untrue, for I never deserved to come there: Although it hath pleased the King to take my house ready furnished for his pleasure, at this time I would all the world should know, I have nothing but it is of right for him, and of him I received all that I have: It is therefore convenient and reason to tender the same to him againe.

Then my Lord with his traine of Gentlemen and Yeomen which was no small company, tooke his Barge at his private

staires

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fares, and went by water to *Putney*, at which time upon the water were abundance of Boates filled with people, expecting to have seene my Lord Cardinall goe to the Tower, which they longed to see. Oh wondrous and new-fangled world! is it not a time to consider the mutability of this uncertaine world for the common people ever desire things for novelties sake, which after turn to their small profit and advantage. For if you marke the sequell they had small cause to rejoyce at his fall. I cannot see but all men in favour are envied by the common people, though they doe minister Justice truly.

Thus continued my Lord at *Albany*, 3, or 4. weekes without either Beds, sheets, Table-cloaths or dishes to eate their meate in, or wherewith to buy any. But there was good store of all kind of victuals, and of beere and wine plenty, but afterwards my Lord borrowed some plate and dishes of the Bishop of *Carlisle*.

Thus continued my Lord in this strange estate till after *Albion*, and being one day at dinner, Mr. *Crumwell* told him that he ought in Conscience to consider the true and good service, that he and other of his servants had done him, who never forooke him in weale nor woe, then quoth my Lord, alas *Tom*: you know I have nothing to give you nor them; which makes me both ashamed and sorry that I have nothing to requite your faithfull services, wherupon Mr. *Crumwell* told my Lord that he had abundance of Chaplaines that were preferred by his Grace to Benefices of some 1000. pound, and others 500. pound, some more and some lesse, and wee your poore servants who take more paines in one daies service, then all your idle Chaplaines have done in a yeare, and therefore if they will not impart liberally to you in your great indigence, it is pittie they should live, and all the world will have them in indignation for their great ingratitude to their Master.

Afterwards my Lord commanded me to call all his Gentlemen and Yeomen up into the great Chamber, commanding all the Gentlemen to stand on the right hand, and the Yeomen on the left side: at last my Lord came out in his Rochet, upon a Violet gowne like a Bishop, who went with his Chaplains to the upper end of the Chamber where was a great window, beholding his goodly number of servants, who could

not speake to them untill the teares ran downe his cheekes, which being perceived of his servants, caused fountaines of teares to gush out of their sorrowfull eyes, in such sort as would cause my heart to relent.

At last my Lord spake to them to this effect and purpose He speaks to them all.
saying, Most faithfull Gentlemen and true-hearted Yeomen,

I much lament that in my prosperity I did not so much for you as I might have done, and was in my power to doe. I consider that if in my prosperity I should have preferred you to the King, then should I have incurred the Kings Servants displeasure, who would not spare to report behind my back that that there could no Office in the Court escape the Cardinall and his servants, and by that meanes I should have run into open slander of all the world, but now it is come to passe: that it hath pleased the King to take all that I have into his hands, so that I have now nothing to give you, for I have nothing left me but the bare cloaths on my backe, with many other words in their phrase, and so he giving them all hearty thanks, went away, and afterwards many of his servants departed from him, some to their Wives, some to their friends, Master Cromwell to London, it being then the beginning of the Parliament.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Cardinall is accused of high Treason in the Parliament House, against which accusation Mr. Cromwell (late servant to him) being a Burgesse in the Parliament made defence.

HHe, aforesaid Master Cromwell, after his departure from my Lord, devised with himselfe to be one of the Burgesles of the Parliament: And being at London he chanced to meer one Sir Thomas Russell Knight, a speciall friend of his, whose sonne was one of the Burgesles of the Parliament, of whom by meanes he obtained his roome, and so put his selfe into the Parliament House, and three daies after his departure from my Lord, hee came againe to
Ashur,

He informed
his Lord what
was objected
against him.

Articles a-
gainst the Car-
dinall disanul-
led by Master
Cromwell.

They charge
him with a
Premunire.

Judges sent to
examine the
Cardinall.
His answer.

The Cardinall
doth submit to
the King.

Ashur, and I being there with my Lord, he said unto me with a pleasant countenance: I have adventured my feet where I will be better regarded ere the Parliament be dissolved: And after he had some talke with my Lord, he made hast to *London* because he would not be absent from the Parliament, to the intent hee might acquaint my Lord what was there objected against him, thereby the better to make his defence, inso much that there was nothing at any time objected against my Lord, but he was ready to make answer thereunto, by means whereof hee being earnest in his Masters behalfe was reputed the most faithfull servant to his Master of all other, and was generally of all men highly commended.

Then was there brought a Bill of Articles into the Parliament house to have my Lord condemned of high Treason, against which Bill Master *Cromwell* did inveigh so discretely and with such witty perswasions, that the same would take no effect; Then were his enemies constrained to indite him of a premunire, and all was to intitle the King to all his goods and possessions, which hee had obteyned and purchased for the maintenance of his Colledges of Oxford and Ipswich, which were both most sumptuous buildings. To the Judges that were sent to take my Lords answer herein he thus answered.

My Lords Judges quoth he; the King knoweth, whether I have offended or no in using my prerogative for the which I am indicted, I have the Kings licence in my Coffer to shew under his hand and broad Scale, for the executing and using thereof in most large manner, the which now are in the hands of mine enemies, but because I will not here stand to contend with his Majestie in his own case, I will here presently before you confesse the indictment, and put my selfe wholly to the mercy and Grace of the King, trusting that he hath a conscience and reason to consider the truth, and my humble submission and obedience wherein I might well stand to my tryall with justice. Thus much may you say to his Highnesse, that I wholly submit my selfe under his obedience in all things to his princely will and pleasure, whom I never disobeyed or repugned, but was alwaies contented and glad to please him before God; whom I ought most chiefly to have believed and obeyed, which I now repent: I most heartily desire you to have me commended to him, for whom I shall during my life pray

pray to God to send him much prosperity, honour and victory over his enemies. And so they left him.

After which Mr. *Shelley* the Iudge was sent to speak with my Lord, who understanding hee was comesissued out of his privy chamber and came to him to know his busines, who after due salutation did declare unto him that the Kings pleasure was to demand my Lords house called *Yorke place* neere *Westminster* belonging to the Bishoprick of *Yorke*. And that you doe passe the same according to the Lawes of this Realme, his Highnesse hath sent for all his Judges and learned Counsell to know their opinions for your assurance thereof, who be fully resolved that your Grace must make a Recognizance, and before a Iudge acknowledge and confesse the right thereof to belong to the King and his Successors, and so his Highnesse shall be assured thereof.

The King demands *Yorkehouse*.

Wherefore it hath pleased the King to send mee hither to take of you the Recognizance, having in your Grace such assistance that you will not refuse to doe so, therefore I doe desire to know your Graces pleasure therein.

Master *Shelley* quoth my Lord, I know the King of his owne nature is of a Royall spirit, not requiring more then reason shall leade him to by the Law. And therefore I counsell you and all other Judges and learned men of his Counsell to put no more into his head then Law, that may stand with Conscience; for when you tell him, that although this be Law, yet it is not Conscience, for Law without conscience is not fit to be ministred by a King nor his Counsell, nor by any of his Ministers, for every Counsell to a King ought to have respect to Conscience before the rigour of the Law: *Law est facere quod decet, non quod licet*. The King ought for his Royall dignity and prerogative to mitigate the rigour of the Law, and therefore in his Princely place he hath constituted a Chancellour, to order for him the same, and therefore the Court of Chancery hath bin commonly called the Court of Conscience, for that it hath iurisdiction to command the Law in every case, to desist from the rigour of the execution: And now I say to you Master *Shelley*, have I a power, or may I with Conscience give that away which is now mine for me and my Successors? if this be Law and conscience, I pray you shew me your opinion.

The Cardinals answer.

For-
L
For-

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Forsooth quoth he, there is no great conscience in it, but ha-
ving regard to the Kings great power, it may the better stand
with Conscience, who is sufficient to recompence the Church
of *Yorke* with the double value.

That I know well quoth my Lord, but there is no such con-
dition, but only a bare and simple departure of others rights
if every Bishop should doe so, then might every Prelate give a-
way the patrimony of the Church, and so in proceſſe of time
leave nothing for their Successors to maintaine their dignities
which would be but little to the Kings Honour.

Well quoth my Lord, let mee see your Commission, which
was shewed to him; then quoth my Lord, tell his Highnesse
that I am his most faithfull Subject and obedient beades-man,
whose command I will in no wise disobey, but will in al things
fulfill his pleasure, as you the Fathers of the Law say I may.
Therefore I charge your Conscience to discharge mee, and
shew his Highnesse from me that I must desire his Majesty to
remember, there is both Heaven and hell, and thereupon the
Clarke tooke and wrote the Recognizance and after some se-
cret talke they departed,

Thus continued my Lord at *Ashur*, receiving daily messa-
ges from the Court, some good, and some bad, but more ill
then good, for his enemies perceiving the good affection the
King bare alwaies to him, devised a meanes to disquiet his pa-
tience, thinking thereby to give him occasion to fret and chafe,
that death should rather ensue then otherwise, which they
most desired, for they feared him more after his fall, then they
did in his prosperity, fearing that hee should by reason of the
Kings favour rise againe, and be againe in favour, and great
at the Court, they his enemies might be in danger of their lives
for their cruelty wrongfully ministred unto him, and by their
malitious surmises invented and brought to passe against him,
And did continually finde new matters against him to make
him vexed and fret, but he was a wise man, and did arme him-
selfe with much patience.

He fell sicke.

The King
sends his Phy-
sition.

At Christmas he fell very sore sicke most likely to dye, the
King hearing thereof was very sorry, and sent Doctor *Burns*
his physitian unto him, who found him very dangerously sicke
in bed, and returned to the King. The King demanded saying
have you seene yonder man? yes Sir quoth hee, how do you
like him quoth the King? Sir quoth he, if you will have him
dead,

dead, I will warrant you hee will be dead within these foure dayes, if he receiue no comfort from you shortly.

Marry God forbid, quoth the King, that he should dye, for I would not lose him for 20000. pounds. I pray you go to him, and doe your care to him.

Then must your Grace, quoth Doctor *Buts*, send him some comfortable message; So I will, quoth the King by you; therefore make speed to him againe, and you shall deliver him this Ring from me for a Token. In the which Ring was the Kings Image engraven with a Ruby as like the King, as might bee diuised; This Ring hee knoweth well, for he gave mee the same; and tell him that I am not offended with him in my heart for any thing. And that shall be knowne shortly; therefore bid him pluck up his heart, and be of good comfort: And I charge you come not from him till you have brought him out of the danger of death, if it be possible.

The K. sends
his ring in to-
ken of fauour.

Then spake the King to Mistris *Anne Bullaign*, good Sweet heart as you love me, send the Cardinal a token at my request, and in so doing you shall deserve our thanks: shee being disposed not to offend the King, would not disobey his loving request; but tooke incontinently her Tablet of gold that hung at her side, and delivered it to Doctor *Buts*, with very gentle and loving Words; and so he departed to *Ashur* with speed; and after him the King sent Doctor *Cromer*, Doctor *Clement* and Doctor *Wotton* to consult and advise with Doctor *Buts* for my Lords recovery.

And Mistris
Anne Bulloigne
her Tablet.

Now after Doctor *Buts* had been with him, and delivered him the tokens from the King and Mistris *Anne Bulloigne*, with the most comfortable words he could devise on the Kings and Mistris *Annes* behalfe, hee advanced himselfe in his bed, and received the Tokens very joyfully, giving him many thanks for his paines and good comfort, hee told him further, that the Kings pleasure was, that he should minister unto him for his health. And for the better and more assured wayes, he hath also sent Doctor *Cromer*, Doctor *Clement*, and Doctor *Wotton*, all to joyne for your recovery. Therefore my Lord, quoth Doctor *Buts*, it were well they were called to visite you and to consult with them for your disease.

At which motion my Lord was contented, and sent for them to heare their judgements; but hee trusted more to Doctor

In foure dayes
they cured him

Cromer then all the rest, because hee was the very meanes to bring him from *Paris* to *England*, and gave him partly his exhibition in *Paris*. To be short, in foure dayes they set him againe upon his feet, and he had gotten him a good stomacke to meate. All this done, and my Lord in a right good way of amendment, they tooke their leaves and departed, to whom my Lord offered his Reward; but they refused, saying, the King hath given a speciall Commandement that they should take nothing of him, for at their returne hee would reward them of his owne cost.

The K. sent
three or foure
loads of house-
hold stuffe.

After this, my Lord continued at *Ashur* till Candle-masse, before and against which Feast, the King caused to be sent to my Lord three or foure loads of stuffe; and most thereof, except Beds and Kitchen-stuffe, was loaded in Standars, wherein was both plate and rich Hangings, and Chappell stuffe, which was done without the knowledge of the Lords of the Counsell; for all which, hee rendered the King most humble and hearty thanks: And afterwards made suite unto the King to be removed from *Ashur* to *Richmond*, which request was granted.

The House of *Richmond* a little before was repaired by my Lord to his great cost, for the King had made an exchange with him for *Hampton Court*. Had the Lords of the Counsell knowne of these favours from the King to the Cardinall, they would have perswaded the King to the contrary, for they feared least his now abode neare the King, might move the King at some season to resort unto him, and to call him home againe, considering the great and daily affection the King bare unto him. Therefore they moved the King that my Lord might goe downe to the *North*, to his benefice there, where he might be a good stay (as they alleadged) to the Country, to which the King condescended thinking no lesse but that all had bin true according to their relation, being with such colour of deepe consideration, that the King was strait-way perswaded to their conclusion, whereupon my Lord of *Norfolke* by Master *Cromwell* who daily did resort to my Lord, that he should say to him that he must goe home to his Benefice, well then *Thomas* quoth my Lord, wee will goe then to *Winchester*: I will then quoth Master *Cromwell* tell my Lord of *Norfolke* what you say, and so hee did at his next meeting
of

of him : what should he doe there quoth the Duke ? let him
goe to the rich Bishoprick of *York* ; where his greatest honour
and charge lyeth, and so shew to him : The Lords who were
not his friends perceiving that my Lord was disposed to plant
himselfe so nigh the King thought then to withdraw his appe-
tite from *Winchester*, moved the King to give my Lord a
Pension of foure thousand markes out of *Winchester*, and all
the rest to be distributed amongst the Nobility and his ser-
vants : And so likewise to divide the Revenues of *St. Albons*,
whereof some had 200. pound, and all his Revenues of his
Lands belonging to his Colledge at *Oxford* and *Ipswich* the
King tooke into his owne hands ; whereof Master *Cromwell*
had the receit & government before by my Lords assignment,
wherefore it was thought very necessary that hee should have
the same still, who executed all things so well and exactly,
that he was had in great estimation for his behaviour therein.

Now it came to passe that those to whom the King had
given any annuities or fees for term of life, or by Patent, could
not be good but onely for and during my Lords life, foras-
much as the King had no longer estate therein, but what hee
had by my Lords attainer in the Premunire : And to make
their estate good and sufficient, there was no other way but to
obtaine my Lords confirmation of their Patents : And to
bring this about, there was no other meanes but by Master
Cromwell, who was thought the fittest Instrument for this pur-
pose, and for his paines therein hee was worthily rewarded :
and his demeanour, his honesty and wisdom was such, that
the King tooke great notice of him, as you shall hereafter
heare.

Still the Lords thought long till my Lord was removed
further off the Kings way, wherefore among others of the
Lords, my Lord of *Norfolke* said, Master *Cromwell* me thinks
the Cardinall thy Master makes no hast to goe Northwards,
tell him, if he goe not away I will teare him with my teeth :
Therefore I would advise him to prepare away with speed, or
else I will set him forwards. These words reported Mr. *Crom-*
well to my Lord at his next repaire, which was then at *Rich-*
mond, having obtained licence of the King to remove from
Ashur to *Richmond*; and in the evening my Lord being ac-
customed to walke in the Garden, and I being with him stan-
ding

ding in an Alley, I espied certaine Images of Beasts counterfeited in Timber, which I went nearer to take the better view of them, among whom I there saw stand a dunne Cow, whereat I most mused of all those beasts: My Lord then suddenly came upon me unawares, and speaking to me said, what have you spied there whereat you looke so earnestly?

A Prophecie.

Forsooth quoth I, if it please your Grace I here behold these Images which I suppose were ordained to bee set up in the Kings palace, but amongst them all I have most considered this Cow which seems to me the Artificers Master-piece. You marry quoth my Lord, upon this Cow hangs a certaine Prophecie which perhaps you never heard of, I will shew you there is a saying.

*When the Cow
rides the Bull,
then Priest be-
ware thy scull.*

*When the Cow doth ride the Bull,
Then Priest beware thy Scull.*

*The Prophecies
expounded.*

Which saying, neither my Lord that declared it nor I that heard it understood the effect, although the compasse thereof was working, and then like to be brought to passe: this Cow the King gave by reason of the Earldome of *Richmond* which was Inheritance: This Prophecie was afterwards expounded in this manner, The dunne Cow because it is the Kings beast, betokens the King, and the Bull betokens Mistris *Anne Bulloigne*, who after was Queene, her Father gave the black Bulls head in his Cognizance, and was his beast, so that when the King had Married Queene *Anne*, it was thought of all men to be fulfilled, for what a number of Priests, Religious and secular, lost their heads for offending of those Lawes made, to bring this matter to passe is not unknowne to all the world, therefore it may well be judged that this prophecie is fulfilled.

*And fulfilled by
the Cardinals
fall.*

You have heard what words the Duke of *Norfolke* spake to Master *Cromwell* touching my Lords going into the North, then said my Lord; *Tom*, It is time to be going, therefore I pray you goe to the King, and tell him I would go to my Benefice at *Torke*, but for lacke of moneyes desiring his Grace to helpe him to some, and you may say the last mony I had from his Grace was too little to pay my debts, and to compell me to pay the rest of my debts is too much extremity, seeing all my goods are taken from me: Also shew my Lord of *Norfolke* and the rest of the Counsell, that I would depart if I had money

money. Sir quoth Master *Cromwell*, I shall doe my best, and so after other communication departed and came to London, then in the beginning of Lent, my Lord removed his lodging into the Charterhouse at Richmond, where he lay in a lodging that Doctor *Collet* made for himselfe, and every after-noon for the time of his Residence there would he sit in contemplation with some one of the most auncient Fathers there, who converted him to dispose the vaine glory of this world; and *there they gave unto him shirts of haire to weare next his body, which he wore divers times after.* Shirts of hair.

The Lords assigned that my Lord should have 1000. Markes pension out of *Winchester* for his going downe into the North, which when the King heard of, hee commanded it should bee forthwith paid unto Master *Cromwell*. And the

King commanded Master *Cromwell* to repaire to him againe when he had received the said summe, which accordingly he did: To whom his Majesty said, *Shew your Lord that I have sent him ten thousand pounds of my benevolence, and tell him he shall not lacke, bid him bee of good comfort.* Master *Cromwell*, on my Lords behalfe thanked the King for his royall liberality towards my Lord, and with that departed to *Rich-*

mond, to whom he delivered the mony and the joyfull tidings, wherein my Lord did not a little rejoyce, forthwith there was a preparation made for his going, hee had with him in his traine one hundred and sixty persons, having with him twelve Carts to carry his goods which he sent from his Colledge at *Oxford*, besides other Carts of his daily carriage of his necessities for his buildings, he kept his solemne feast of *Easter at Peterborow*, and upon *Palme-Sunday*, he bare his palme and went on Procession with the Monkes, and upon Thursday hee made his *Mundy*, having 59. poore people whose feete hee

washed and kissed, and after he had dryed them, he gave every one of them twelve pence and three ells of good Canvas to make them shirts, and each of them a paire of new shooes and a cask of *Reth-herring*, on *Easter-day* he rose to the Resurrection, and that day he went in Procession in his Cardinalls vestments, and having his Hat on his head, and sung the high Masse there himselfe solemnly, after his Masse he gave his Benediction to all the hearers with cleane remission. From *Peterborow* he took his journey into the North, but made some

stay

A thousand mark pension to the Cardinall.

The King sent him 10000. p.

The Cardinal goeth to his Bishoprick of York.

At Peterborow hee did wash 59. poore mens feet.

Charity to the
poore.

stay by the way, and many passages hapned in his journey too tedious here to relate. At the last he came to *Stoby* where hee continued till after Michaelmas, exercising many deeds of charity, most commonly every Sunday if the weather served, would he goe to some poore Parish-Church thereabouts, and there would say the divine Service, and either said or heard Masse, and then caused one of his Chaplaines to preach the Word of God to the people, and afterwards he would dine in some honest house in the Towne, where should be distributed to the poore, almes as well of meat and drink, as mony to supply the want of meate and drinke if the number of poore did exceed: thus with other good deeds practising himselfe during the time of his abode there betweene party and party, being at variance: About Michaelmas after hee removed from thence to *Caywood Castle* within seaven miles of the City of *Yorke*, where hee had much honour and love from all men high and low, where hee kept a plentiful house for all comers, also he builded and repaired the Castle which was much decayed, having at the least three hundred persons daily in worke to whom hee paid wages lying there: Where all the Doctors and Prebends of the Church of *Yorke* did repaire to my L. according to their duties, as unto the chief Head, Patron, & Father of their Spiritual dignities, who did joyfully welcom him into those parts, saying it was no smal comfort unto them to see their Head among them, who had bene so long absent from them, being like to fatherles and comfortlesse Children for want of his Presence; and that they trusted shortly to see him amongst them in his owne Church. To whom he made answer, that it was the most especiall cause of his coming, to be amongst them as a Father, and a naturall brother.

Order in the
Cathedrall at
Yorke.

Sir, quoth they; you must understand the Ordinances and rules of our Church, whereof, although you be the Head and sole Governour, yet you are not so well acquainted as we bee therein: Therefore, if it please your Grace, we shall (under favour) open unto you some part of our ancient Lawes and Customes of our Church, that our head Prelate and Pastor as you now are, might not come above our Quire doore, untill by due Order he be installed. Nor if you should happen to dye before your installation, you should not be buried above in the Quire, but below in the neither part of the body of the

the Church. Therefore we humbly desire and beseech you, in the name of all our bretheren, that you would vouchsafe to do therein, as our ancient Fathers your Predecessors have done, and that you would not breake the laudable customes of our Church; To the which wee are obliged by Oath at our first admittance to observe that, and divers others, which in our Chapter doth remaine upon Record.

These Records (quoth my Lord) would I faine see, and then shall you know further of mine advice and minde in this businesse.

A day was signed to bring their Records to my Lord, at which time they resorted to my Lord with their Register and Bookes of Records, wherein were fairely written their Institutions and Rules, which every Minister of their Church was most principally and chiefly bound to observe and infallibly keep and maintaine.

When my Lord had read the Records, he did intend to be at the Cathedrall Church of *Yorke* the next Munday after *Alhollantide*, against which time due preparation was made for the same; but not in so sumptuous a wise as were his predecessors before him: Nor yet in such sort as the same and common report was afterwards made of him, to his great slander. And to the false Reporters no small dishonesty to become a divulger of such notorious lies I am sure they did: Preparation for the Cardinals instelment at *Yorke*. For I my selfe was sent by my Lord to *Yorke*, to see that all things there should be ordered and provided for that Solempnity, in a very decent forme to the honour of that ancient and worthy Monastery of *Yorke*.

It came to passe that upon *Alholland-day*, one of the head and principall Officers of the said Cathedrall Church, which should have had most doing at my Lords Installation, was with my Lord at *Caywood*, and sitting at dinner, they fell into communication of this matter, and the Order and Ceremony thereof: He saying that my Lord Cardinall should goe a foote from a Chappell which stands without the Gates of the City called *St. James* his Chappell, unto the Minster upon cloath, which should be distributed to the poore after his said passage to the Church. Which my Lord hearing, replied

M

and

and said, although perhaps our Predecessors have gone upon
cleath, yet we intend to goe on foot without any such pompe
or glory in the vamps of our hosen. And therefore gave order
to his Servants to goe as humbly thither as might be without
any sumptuous apparrell ; for I intend on Sunday to come
to you to bee installed , and to make but one Dinner for you
at the close , and the next day to dine with the Major, and so
returne againe hither.

Store of good
provision sent
in by the coun-
treys.

The day being not unknowne to all the Countrey , the
Gentlemen, Abbots, and Priors, such provision sent in , that
it was almost incredible for store and variety.

The Common people held my Lord in great estimation for
his purity and liberality , and also for his familiar gesture and
good behaviour amongst them. By means whereof hee gay-
ned much love of all the people in the North parts of
England.

CHAP. XIX.

*Of the Cardinalls fall, and how he was arrested
of high Treason.*



That chanced before his last troubles at
Caywood is a sign or token from God,
of that which should follow, I wil now
God willing declare, my Lords ene-
mies being then at the Court about the
King in good estimation , and honou-
rable dignities ; seeing now my Lord in
great favour, and fearing the K. would
now call him home againe , they therefore did plot amongst
themselves to dispatch him by meanes of some sinister Treason
or to bring him into the Kings great indignation by some o-
ther meanes.

This

This was their daily study and consultation, having for their especial helpe and furtherance as many vigilant attendants upon him, as the Poets faine *Argus* had eyes.

The King with these their continuall complaints, was moved to much indignation, and thought it good that the Cardinall should come up, and to stand to his tryal in his own person; which his enemies did not like of. Notwithstanding, hee was sent for, and after this sort.

First, they devised that Sir *Walter Welch* Knight, one of the Kings Privy Chamber should bee sent downe with a Commission into the North, and the Earle of *Northumberland*, who was sometimes brought up in the House of my Lord, being joyned in Commission with him, should arrest my Lord of high Treason. This being resolved upon, Sir *Walter Welch* prepared for his journey, with his Commission and certaine instruments annexed to the same, and took horse at the Court gate, upon *All-hallow-day*, towards my Lord of Northumberland.

Now will I declare what I promised before of a certaine signe or token of my Lords trouble ensuing.

Upon *All-hallow-day* my Lord sitting at dinner, having at his Boards end divers of his Chaplaines to beare him Company for want of other Guests; you shall now understand that my Lords great Crosse which stood by fell, and in the fall broke Doctor *Bonnors* head, inasmuch that some blood ran downe. My Lord perceiving the fall thereof, demaunded of those that stood by him what was the matter that they stood so amazed, I shewed him of the fall of his great

The Cardinals
crosse in the
fall brake Dr.
Bonners head,

cross upon Dr. *Bonnors* head: Quoth my Lord hath it drawne any blood? yea quoth I; with that he cast his head aside and soberly said (*Malum Omen*) and thereupon suddenly said grace, and rose from table and went to his Bed-chamber, but what hee did there I cannot tell. Now marke how my Lord expounded the meaning thereof (in his fancie) to mee at *Pontefract* after his fall. First that the great Crosse that he bare as Arch-Bishop of *Yorke* betokened himself, and Doctor *Austyn* the Physitian who overthrew the Crosse, was hee that accused my Lord, whereby his enemies caught an occasion to overthrow him; it fell on Doctor *Bonnors* head, who was then Master of my Lords faculties, and spirituall jurisdiction, who was then dampnified by the fall thereof, and moreover the drawing of blood betokeneth death, which did suddenly after follow.

The Earle of
Northumber-
land and Master
Welch come to
Cayhood hall.

Now the appointed time drew neere for Installation and sitting at dinner; the Friday before the Monday that he should have bene installed at *Yorke*: The Earle of *Northumberland* and Mr. *Welch* with a great company of Gent. of the Earls House, and of the Country whom they had gathered in the Kings name, to accompany them, (yet not knowing to what end) came to the hall of *Caywood* (the Officers being at dinner) and my Lord not fully dined, nor knowing any thing of the Earles being come.

The first thing that the Earle did, after hee had set the Hall in order, he commanded the Porter to deliver the keyes of the gates to him, which hee would in no wise doe, although he was threatned and commanded in the Kings name to make deliverance thereof to one of the Earles servants, which hee still refused, saying to the Earle, that the keyes were delivered to him by his L. and Master, both by oath and other command.

Now some of the Gent. that stood by the Earle hearing the Porter speake so stoutly said, hee is a good fellow

fellow and a faithfull servant to his Master, and speakes like an honest man; therefore give him your charge, and let him keepe the keyes still: then said my Lord, thou shalt well and truly keepe the keyes to the use of our Sovereigne Lord the King; and you shall let none passe in nor out of the Gates, but such as from time to time you shall bee commanded by us, being the Kings Commissioners during our stay here, and with that oath he received the keyes of the Earle, and Master *Weches* hands, but of all these doings knew my L. nothing: or they had stopped the stayers that none should goe to my Lords Chamber, and they that came downe could not goe up againe. At the length one escaped up and shewed my L. that the Earle of *Northumberland* was in the Hall, whereat my L. wondred, and at the first believed him not, till hee heard it confirmed by another: Then quoth my L. I am sorry we have dined, for I feare our Officers have not provided fish enough for the entertainment of him, with some honourable cheere fitting his estate and Dignite; But with that my Lord arose from the Table and commanded to let the cloath lye that the Earle might see how far forth they were at their dinners, and as hee was going down the staires he encountred with my L. of *Northumberland*, to whom my Lord said you are heartily welcome my Lord, and so they embraced each other: Then quoth my Lord Cardinall, if you had loved mee, you would have sent me word before of your comming, that I might have entertained you according to your honour. Notwithstanding you shall have such cheere as I can make you for the present, with a right good will trusting you will accept thereof in good part, hoping hereafter to see you oftner when I shall be more able to entertaine you: this said, my Lord tooke him by the hand, and led him to his Chamber, whom followed all the Earls servants,

The Cardinall
and the Earle
meete.

The Earl doth
arrest the Car-
dinall.

and they being there all alone, saving I which kept the doore as my Office required being *Gentleman-Vsher*, these two Lords standing at a window, the Earl trembling said : I arrest you of high Treason, with which words, my Lord was well nigh astonished, standing still a good space without speaking one word.

But at the last quoth my Lord, what authority have you to arrest me ? quoth the Earle, I have a Commission so to doe : shew it me quoth my Lord, that I may see the contents thereof : nay Sir that you may not quoth the Earle. Then quoth my Lord, hold you contented, for I will not obey your arrest, for there hath been between your Ancestors and my Predecessors great contentions and debate, and therefore unless I see your authority I will not obey you.

Master Welch
arrests Doctor
Austin of high
Treason.

Even as they were debating the matter in the Chamber, so likewise was Mr. *Welch* busie in arresting Dr. *Austine* at the doore, saying, goe in thou Trayter, or I shall make thee : with that I opened the Portall doore, and did thrust in Doctor *Austine* before him with violence. The matter on both sides astonished me very much, marveyling what all this should meane, untill at the last, Master *Welsh* being entered my Lords Chamber, began to pluck off his hood being of the same cloth his Cloake was, which hood he wore to the intent he should not be known, who kneeled down to my Lord; to whom my Lord said come hither Gentleman ; and let me speake with you, commanding him to stand up, and said thus. My Lord of *Northumberland* hath arrested me, but by what authority I know not, if you be privy thereunto joyned with him therein, I pray you shew me. Indeed my Lord if it please your Grace, quoth Master *Welch*, I pray have me excused; there is annexed to our Commission certaine instructions, as you may not see nor be privy too : why quoth my Lord, be your
In.

Instructions such as may not see nor bee privy thereunto, yet peradventure if I be privy unto them, I may helpe you the better to performe them, for it is not unknowne to you, that I have been of Counsell in as weighty matters as these are, and I doubt not, but I shall doe well enough, for my part, prove my selfe a true man against the expectation of my cruell enemies, I see the matter whereupon it groweth, well there is no more to doe I trowe, you are of the Privy Chamber, your name is Master *Welch*, I am contented to yeeld to you, but not to the Earle, without I see his Commission, and also you are a sufficient Commissioner in this behalfe, being one of the Privy Chamber: Therefore put your Commission in execution, spare me not, I will obey you and the King, for I feare not the cruelty of mine enemies, no more then I doe the truth of my Allegiance, wherein I take God to witnesse, I never offended his Majesty in word or deede, and therein I dare stand face to face with any, having a difference without partiality.

Then came my Lord of *Northumberland*, and commanded me to avoyd the Chamber: And being loath to depart from my Master, I stood still and would not remove, so whom he spake againe and said, there is no remedy you must depart, with that I looked upon my Master, as who would have said shall I goe, and perceiving by his countenance that it was not for mee to stay, I departed and went into an other chamber, where were many Gentlemen and others to heare newes, to whom I made a report of what I heard and saw, which was great heavinesse to them all.

The Earle takes
the keyes from
my Lord.

Then the Earle called into his Chamber divers of his owne servants, and after hee and Master *Welch* had taken the Keyes from my Lord, hee committed the keeping of my Lord unto five Gentlemen, and then

then they went about the House, and put all things in order, intending to depart the next day, and to certifie the King and the rest of the Lords, what they had done.

Then went they busie about to convey Doctor *Austine* away to *London* with as much speed and privacy as they could possible, sending with him divers persons to conduct him, who was bound to his Horse like a Traytor.

And this being done, when it was neere night, the Commissioners sending two Groomes of my Lords to attend him to his Chamber (where hee lay all night) the rest of the Earles men watched in the Chamber, and all the House was watched, and the gates safe kept, that no man could passe or repasse untill next morning.

About eight of the clocke next morning, the Earle sent for mee into his Chamber, and commanded mee to goe to my Lord; and as I was going, I met with *Master Welch*, who called me unto him, and shewed me how the Kings Majesty bare unto me his principall favour for my love and diligent Service that I had performed to my Lord: wherefore quoth hee, the Kings pleasure is, that you shall be about him as chiefe, in whom his Highnesse putteth great confidence and trust; and thereupon gave me in writing the Articles: Which when I had read, I said I was content to obey his Majesties pleasure, and would bee sworne to the performance thereof; whereupon hee gave mee my Oath.

That done, I resorted to my Lord, whom I found sitting in a chaire, the Table being ready spread for him. But so soone as hee perceived me come in, hee fell into such a weefull lamentation, that would have forced a flinty-heart to mourne.

I then comforted him as well as I could, but hee would not; for quoth he, I am much grieved that I have nothing to reward you, and the rest of my true and faithfull Servants, for all the good Service that they and you have done mee, for which I doe much lament.

Upon Sunday following, the Earle and Master *Welch* appointed to set forward, for my Lords Horse and ours were brought ready into the inner Court, where we mounted, and comming towards the Gate ready to ride out, the Porter had no sooner opened the same, but we saw without ready attending a great number of Gentlemen and their Servants, such as the Earle had appointed for that Service to attend and conduct my Lord to *Pomfrat* that night.

But to tell you the Truth, there were also many of the people of the Country assembled at the Gate, lamenting his departure, in number above three Thousand, who after the opening of the Gate that they had a sight of him, cryed out with a loud voyce, *God save your Grace, God save your Grace*; the foule Evill take them that have taken you from us; we pray God that vengeance may light upon them. And thus they ran after him through the Towne of *Caywood*, for hee was there very well beloved both of rich and poore.

N CHAP. XX.

CHAP. 20.

*Of the Cardinals entertainement at the Earle
of Shrewsburies, and of his death and
buriall at Leicester.*



After our departure from *Caywood*, wee came to *Doncaster*, the third day wee came to *Sheffield-parke*, where my Lord of *Shrewsbury* lived within the lodge, and the Earle and his Lady, and a great company of Gentewomen and Servants stood without the Gate to attend my Lords comming; at whose alighting the Earle received him with much honour, and imbraced him, saying these words; *My Lord you are most heartily welcome to my poore lodge, and I am glad to see you.*

Here my Lord stayed a fortnight, and was most nobly entertained; hee spent most of his time and applied his mind to prayers continually in great devotion. It came to passe as hee sate one day at dinner, I being there, perceived his colour divers times to change; I asked him if hee was not well; who answered me with a loud voyce: I am suddenly taken with a thing at my stomacke as cold as a Whet-stone, and am not well: Therefore take up the Table, and make alshort Dinner, and returne to mee againe suddenly. I made but a little stay, but came to him againe, where I found him still sitting very ill at ease: He desired me to goe to the *Apothecarie* and aske him if hee had any thing would breake Winde upwards: Hee told mee hee had: Then I went and shewed the same

same to my Lord, who did command mee to give him some thereof, and so I did, and it made him breake winde exceedingly: Loe quoth hee, you may see it was but winde, for now I thank God I am well eased, and so he arose from the Table and went to prayers, as hee used every day after dinner.

In the afternoon my Lord of Shrewsbury sent for me to him, to whom hee said, *For as much as I have alwaies perceived you to be a man in whom my Lord putteth great affiance, and I my selfe knowing you to be a man very honest, with many words of commendations and praise more then becommeth mee to rehearse, hee sayd, your Lord and Master hath often desired mee to write unto the King that he might answer his accusations before his enemies: And this day I have received Letters from his Majesty by Sir William Kingston whereby I perceive that the King hath him in good opinion, and upon my request hath sent for him by the said Sir William Kingston.*

Therefore now I would have you play your part wisely with him in such sort as hee may take it quietly and in good part, for hee is alwaies full of sorrow and much heavinesse at my being with him, that I feare hee would take it ill if I bring him tidings thereof: And therein doth hee not well, for I assure you that the King is his uery good Lord, and hath given me most hearty thankses for his entertaintment: And therefore goe your way to him and perswade him I may find him in quiet at my coming, for I will not tarry long after you.

Sir quoth I, and if it please your Lordship I shall endeavour to the best of my power, to accomplish your Lordships command: But Sir, I doubt when I name this Sir William Kingston, that he will mistrust some ill, because he is Constable of the Tower, and Captaine of the Guard, having in his company 24. of the Guard to

accompany him : That is nothing quoth the Earle
 what if hee be Constable of the Tower and Captain of
 the Guard ? he is the fittest man for his wisdom and
 discretion to be sent about such a businesse, and for the
 Guard it is onely to defend him from those that might
 intend him any ill. Besides that, the Guard are for the
 most part such of his old servants as the King hath took
 into his service to attend him most justly. Well Sir,
 quoth I, I shall doe what I can, and so departed and
 went to my Lord and found him in the Gallery with
 his Staffe and his Beades in his hands, and seeing mee
 come, he asked mee what newes, forsooth quoth I, the
 best newes that ever you heard, if you can take it well:
 I pray God it be true, then quoth hee, my Lord of
Shrewsbury said, I, your most assured friend, hath so
 provided by his letters to the King, that his Majesty
 hath sent for you by Master *Kingston*, and 24. of the
 Guard to conduct you to his Highnesse, Master *King-*
ston quoth he, and clapped his hand on his Thigh and
 gave a great sigh.

The Cardinals
 caule selfe. ar. s.

May it please your Grace (quoth I) I would you
 would take all things well, it would bee much better
 for you, content your selfe for Gods sake, and thinke
 that God and your good friends have wrought for you,
 according to your owne desires: And (as I conceive) you
 have much more cause to rejoyce then lament or mis-
 trust the matter, for I assure you that your friends are
 more affraid of you then you neede bee of them: And
 his Majesty to shew his Love to you, hath sent Master
Kingston to honour you, with as much honour as is
 your Graces due, and to convey you in such easie jour-
 nies as is fitting for you, and you shall command
 him to doe, and that you shall have your request. And
 I humbly entreat you to imprint this my perswasion in
 your Highnesse discretion and to bee of good cheere,
 where.

Enemi s.

wherewith you shall comfort your selfe, and give your friends and poore servants great comfort and content.

Well quoth hee, I perceiue more than you can imagine, or doe know; presently after came my Lord to acquaint him with that I had so lately related; my Lord Cardiaall thanked the Earle for his great love, and called for Master *Kingston* who came to him presently, and kneeling down before him saluted him in the Kings behalfe; whom my Lord bareheaded offered to take up, but hee would not; then quoth my Lord, Master *Kingston* I pray you stand up and leave your kneeling to me, for I am a wretch repleat with misery, not esteeming my selfe, but as a meere object utterly cast away, but without desert God he knowes, therefore good Mr. *Kingstone* stand up.

Th Card nall
sle s Ma er
Kingston.

Then Master *Kingston* said, the King Majestie hath him commended unto you; I thanke his Highnesse quoth my Lord, I hope he is in good health. Yea quoth Master *Kingston* and he hath him commended unto you and commanded mee to bid you bee of good cheere, for hee heareth you as much good will as ever he did.

Mr. Kin ston
tel's him hee s

And whereas Report hath been made unto him, that you should commit against his Majesty certain heynous crimes which he thinketh to be, but yet he for ministration of Iustice in such Cases requisite, could doe no lesse then send for you that you might have your tryall, mistrusting nothing your truth and wisdom, but that you shall bee able to acquit your selfe of all complaints and accusations extended against you: and you may take your journey to him at your pleasure, commanding mee to attend you.

Master *Kingston* quoth my Lord, I thanke you for your good newes: And Sir hereof assure your selfe, if I were as able and lusty as ever I was to ride, I would goe with you post: but alas I am a diseased man having a fluxe (at which time it was apparant that he had poi-

soned himselfe) it hath made me very weake, but the Comfortable newes you bring is of purpose (I doubt) to bring mee into a fooles Paradise, for I know what is provided for mee. Notwithstanding, I thanke you for your good will, and paines taken about me, and I shall with speed make ready to ride with you.

After this I was commanded to make all things ready for our departure the morrow after,

The Cardinall
neare de th.

When my Lord went to bed, he fell very sicke of the Laske, which caused him to goe to stooles from time to time all that night, insomuch that from that time til morning, he had 50. stooles: And the matter that he voided was very blacke, which the Physitians called *Aduetine*, whose opinions were that he had not above 4. or 5. dayes to live.

Notwithstanding, he would have ridden with Mr. *Kingston* the next day, had not the Earle of *Shrewsbury* advised him to the contrary, but the next day hee took his journey with Master *Kingston*, and them of the Guard, who espying him could not abstaine from weeping, considering he was their old Master, and now in such a miserable case, whom my Lord tooke by the hand, and would as hee rode by the way sometimes talke with one, and sometimes with another, till hee came to a house of my Lords standing in the way called *Hardwick-Hall*, where he lay all that night very ill at ease. The next day he came to *Nottingham*, and the next day to *Leicester Abbey*, and the next day he waxed very sicke that he had almost fallen from his horse, so that it was night ere he got to *Leicester Abbey*, where at his comming in at the gates the Abbot with all their Convent met him with many lighted torches, whom they honorably received and welcomed with great reverence.

To whom my Lord said, Father Abbot I am come to lay my bones amongst you, riding still on his Mule till hee came to the staires of his Chamber where hee alighted: Master *Kingston* holding him by the arme

arise led him up the staires, who told mee afterwards
that hee never felt so heavy a burthen in all his life,
and as soone as hee was in his Chamber hee went
straight to bed, this was upon Satterday, and so hee
continued.

On Monday in the morning as I stood by his
Beds side about eight of the Clocke in the morning
the windowes beeing close shut, and having waxe
lights burning upon the Cupboard, I thought I
perceived him drawing on towards death. Hee
perceiving my shadow upon the Beds side asked
who was there. Sir quoth I, it is I, how doe you?
quoth hee, well? I Sir quoth I, if I might see your
Grace well, what is it a clocke quoth hee? I an-
swered it was about eight of the Clocke, quoth hee
that cannot bee, rehearsing eight of the clocke so
many times. Nay quoth hee that cannot bee, for at
eight of the clocke you shall see your Masters time
draw neere that I must depart this world: with
that quoth Doctor *Palmer* a worthy Gentleman
standing by, bid mee aske him if hee would be
shriven to make him ready for God, whatever
chanced to fall out, which I did: but hee was ve-
ry angry with mee, and asked what I had to doe to
aske him such a question? till at the last Master Doctor
tooke my part and talked with him in Latin and pacifi-
ed him.

After dinner Master *Kingston* sent for me and said,
Sir, The King hath sent unto mee Letters by Master
Vincent our old companion who hath beene in trouble
in the Tower for money that my Lord should have
at his departure: A great part of which money
cannot bee found, wherefore the King at Master
Vincent's request for the declaration of the truth,
hath sent him hither with his graces Letters, that
I should examine my Lord and have your Counsell
therein, that hee may take it well and in good part.
And

And this is the cause of my sending for you, therefore I desire your Counsell therein for acquittall of this poore Gentleman Master *Vincent*.

Sir quoth I, according to my dutie you shall, and by my advise you shall resort unto him in your owne person to visit him, and in communication breake the matter unto him: And if hee will not tell you the truth therein, then may you certifie the King thereof; But in any case name not nor speake of my fellow *Vincent*: Also I would not have you to detract the time, for hee is very sicke, and I feare that hee will not live past a day or two, and accordingly Master *Kingston* went to my Lord and demanded the money, saying that my Lord of *Northumberland* found a booke at Caywood-house that you had lately borrowed 10000. pounds, and there is not so much as one penny to bee found who hath made the King privie to the same, wherefore the King hath written to mee, to know what is become thereof, for it were pittie that it should bee holden from you both. Therefore I require you in the Kings name to tell mee the trueth, that I may make a just report thereof unto his Majesty of your answer.

With that quoth my Lord, oh good Lord, how much doth it grieve me that the King should thinke any such thing in mee, that I should deceive him of one penny, seeing I have nothing nor never had (God bee my Judge) that I ever esteemed so much mine owne as his Majesties, having but the bare use of it during my life, and after my death to leave it wholly to him; wherein his Majesty hath prevented me. But for this money that you demand of mee, I assure you it is none of my own, for I borrowed it of divers of my friends to bury mee, and to bestow amongst my servants, who have taken great paines about mee, notwithstanding if it bee your pleasure to know, I must bee content, yet I beseech

beseech his Majesty to see it satisfied for the discharge of my Conscience to them that I owed it to, who be they quoth *M. Kingston*? That shall I tell you quoth my Lord, I borrowed 2. hundred pounds of *John Allen* of *London*, another 200. p. of *Sir Richard Gresham*, and 200. p. of the Master of the *Savoy*, and also 200. pound of Doctor *Highden* Dean of my Colledge at *Oxford*, 200. pound of the Treasurer of the Church, and 200. pound of Master *Ellis* my Chaplain: And an other 200. pound of a Priest, I hope the King will restore it againe, for as much as it is none of mine.

Divers summes
of mony bor-
rowed by the
Cardinall a lit-
tle before hee
dyed.

Sir quoth *Master Kingston*, there is no doubt in the King whom you need not distrust, but Sir I pray you where is the mony quoth he, I will not conceale it I warrant you, but I will declare it unto you before I dye by the grace of God, have a little patience with me I pray you, for the mony is safe enough in an honest mans hands, who will not keepe one penny thereof from the King.

So *Master Kingston* departed for that time, my Lord being very weake, and about foure of the clock in the next morning, as I conceived, I asked him how he did, well quoth he if I had any meate, I pray you give me some.

Sir quoth I there is none ready, then he said, (you are much too blame) for you should have alwaies meate for me in readinesse, whensoever that my stomack serves me, I pray you get some ready for me, for I meane to make my self strong to day to the intent I may goe to Confession and make me ready for God, quoth I, I will call up the Cookes to prepare some meat, and also I will call Mr. *Palmer* that hee may discourse with you till your meate be ready, with a good will quoth my Lord, and so I called *Master Palmer* who rose and came to my Lord.

Then I went and acquainted *M. Kingston* that my Lord was very sicke and not like to live. In good

saith quoth *M. Kingston*, you are much too blame to make him beleeve he is fiercer then he is. Well Sir quoth I, you cannot but say I gave you warning as I am bound to doe, upon which words hee arose and came unto him, but before he came my Lord Cardinall had eaten a spoonfull or two of Caltis made of Chickin, and after that hee was in his Confession the space of an houre : And then *M. Kingston* came to him and bid him good morrow, and asked him how he did. Sir quoth he, I watch but Gods pleasure to render up my poore soule to him. I pray you have me heartily commended unto his Royall Majesty, and beseech him on my behalfe to call to his Princely remembrance all matters that have bin between us from the beginning and the progresse: And especially betweene good Queene *Katherine* and him, and then shall his Graces Conscience know whether I have offended him or not.

He is a Prince of a most Royall carriage, and hath a Princely heart, and rather then hee will misse or want any part of his Will, he will endanger the one halfe of his Kingdome.

N.B.

I doe assure you I have often kneeled before him sometimes three houres together to perswade him from his Will and appetite, but could not prevaile : And *M. Kingston*, had I but served God as diligently as I have served the King, hee would not have given me over in my gray haire. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my diligent paines and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my Prince. Therefore let mee advise you, if you be one of the Privie Counsell; as by your wisdom you are fit, take heede what you put in the Kings head, for you can never put it out againe.

The Cardinals
advice.

And I desire you further to request his Grace in Gods name, that he have a vigilant eye to suppress the hellish *Lutherans*, that they increate not through his great negligence, in such a sort as he be compelled

led to take up Armes to subdue them, as the King of Bohemia was; whose Commons being infected with *Wickliffe's* heresies, the King was enforced to take that course.

Let him consider the Story of King *Richard* the Second, the second sonne of his Progenitor, who lived in the time of *Wickliffe's* Seditions and heresies: Did not the Commons I pray you in his time rise against the Nobility and chiefe Governours of this Realme, and at the last some of them were put to death without Justice or mercy, & under pretence of having all things common, did they not fall to spoyling and robbing, and at last tooke the Kings person, and carried him about the City, making him obedient to their Proclamations?

Did not also the Trayterous Heretique Sir *John Old-Castle*, Lord *Cobham*, pitch a field with Heretiques against King *Henry* the fourth, where the King was in person and fought against them, to whom God gave the victory?

Alas, if these be not plaine presidents, and sufficient perswasions to admonish a Prince: Then God will take away from us our prudent Rulers, and leave us to the hands of our enemies. And then will ensue mischief upon mischief, Inconveniencies, Barrenesse and scarcity for want of good Orders in the Common-wealth, from which God of his tender mercy defend us.

Master *Kingston* farewell, I wish all things may have good successe, my time drawes on, I may not tarry with you, I pray you remember my words.

Now began the time to draw neere, for hee drew his speech at length, and his tongue began to faile him, his eyes perfectly set in his head, his sight failed him. Then wee began to put him in minde of Christs passion, and caused the Yeoman of the Guard to stand by privately to see him dye, and

beare witnesse of his words and his departure, who heard all his communications.

The Cardinal
gave up the
ghost.

And then presently the clocke strucke eight, at which time he gave up the Ghost, and thus departed he this life, one of us looking upon an other, supposing he prophesied of his departure.

Wee sent for the Abbot of the House to annoint him, who speedily came as hee was ending his life, who said certaine prayers before that the life was out of his body.

Here is the end and fall of pride, for I assure you he was in his time the proudest man alive, having more regard to the honour of his Person then to his spirituall Function, wherein he should have expressed more meekenesse and humility: For Pride and Ambition are both linked together; and Ambition is like *Choller*, which is an humour that makes men active, earnest, and full of alacrity and stirring, if it be not stopped or hindred in its course: But if it bee stopped, and cannot have its way, it becommeth dust, and thereby maligne and venomous. So ambitious and proud men, if they find the way open for their rising and advancement, and still get forwards; they are rather busie then dangerous: But if they bee checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and looke upon men and matters with an evill eye, and are best pleased when things goe backwards: but I forbear to speake any further herein.

The Cardinall being departed, Master *Kingston* sent Post to London one of the Guard, then was Mr. *Kingston* and the Abbot in consultation about the Funerall, which was solemnized the day after, for Mr. *Kingston* would not stay the return of the Post.

They thought good that the Major of Leicester and his Brethren should see him personally dead, to prevent false reports that he was alive. And in the Interim, whilst the Major was sent for, his Bones were

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were laid in the Coffin, and his shirt of haire, and his over shirt, of fine Holland were taken off and were put into the Coffin together, with all such ornaments wherewith he was invested: when hee was made Arch-Bishop, as *Myter, Crosse, Ring and Pall*, and all other things due to his Orders.

Thus he lay all that day with his Coffin open and bare-faced, that all that desired might see him. And about three of the clock he was buried of the Abbot with great solemnity. And being in the Church, his

The Cardinall
is buried in St
Maries Ch
pell in I
cester.

corpes were set in the Ladies Chappell with many Tapers, and poore men about him holding Torches in their hands, who watched the Corps all that night, whilst the Canons sing divers Dirges and other divine Orisons.

And at foure of the Clock the next morning, the Cardinals servants and Mr. *Kingston* came to the Church to the execution of many Ceremonies in such manner as is usuall at Bishops burialls: And so hee went to Masse, where the Abbot did offer and divers others: And then went to burie the Corps in the middle of the said Chappell, by this time it was sixe of the clock, being St. *Andrews* day.

Then we prepared for our journey to the Court, where we attended his Majesty, the next day I was sent for to the King, conducted by Master *Norris*, where the King was in his night Gowne of Rocher Velvet furred with sables, before whom I kneeled the space of an houre, during which time his Majesty examined me of divers particulars concerning my Lord Cardinall, wishing rather then twenty thousand pounds that he had lived.

Hee asked mee concerning the fifteen hundred pounds which Master *Kingston* moved to my Lord. Quoth I, I thinke I can perfectly tell your Grace where it is and who hath it, can you quoth the King I pray you tell me, and you shall not be unrewarded.

Sir quoth I, after the departure of Mr. Vincent from my Lord at *Strooby*, who had the custody thereof leaving it with my Lord, in divers Baggs, he delivered it to a certaine Priest safely to bee kept to his use, is this true quoth the King? yea quoth I, without doubt, the Priest will not deny it before me, for I was at the delivery thereof, who hath gotten divers other rich Ornaments, which are not Registered in the booke of my Lords Inventory or other writings, whereby any man is able to charge him therewith but my selfe.

Then said the King, let me alone for keeping this secret betweene mee and you, Howbeit three may keepe Counsell if two be away: And if I knew my Cap were privy to my Counsell, I would cast it into the fire and burne it: And for your honesty and Truth, you shall be our servant in our Chamber, as you were with your Master.

Therefore goe you your waies to Sir *John Gage* our Vice-Chamberlain, to whom wee have spoken already, to admit you our servant in our Chamber, and then goe to the Lord of *Norfolke*, and hee shall pay you your whole yeares wages which is tenne pounds, is it not so quoth the King? Yes forsooth and if it please your Grace quoth I. And withall said the King, you shall receive a reward of the Duke of *Norfolke*. So I received ten pounds of the Duke for my wages, and twenty pounds for my reward, and his Majesty gave me a Cart and fixe horses, the best that I could chuse out of my Lords horses to carry my goods, and five markes for my charge homewards.

An

Thus did he sit a while to be Times wonder
Secure in honour, fearing not Joves Thunder,
Nor dreading that his honours could bee broke;
And rent asunder by Fates raging stroke;
Raigning in height of glory from low Birth
To rivall Heaven, and affrights the Earth:
For wheresoever Woolfies name was heard
In England, it was both ador'd and fear'd.
But angry Fortune that exhal'd and rais'd
By her owne power this Meteor, which long blaz'd
Bright

An Epitaph

Bright as a Comet, clack'd now with a frowne
Her threatening brow, and quickly cast him downe.
The King tooke off some honours, that he might
Both know his greatnesse, and affright
His growing pride; which fledg'd with a strong wing
Did strae to fly a pitch above the King.
And being summond now to meete the danger,
Of making Answer to the Kings just anger;
His guilty Conscience made his iudge, did cause
Poyson to execute the power of Lawes:
And though from this great Clergy Phenix spring
Many great Bishops, Heaven down can bring
Their usurp'd Titles, and can make them have
Before their death an undeplored Grave:
For though this Cardinall did in greatnesse trust,
His Fame doth now lye buried with his dust.

Paraphrase
A Dialogue

A true Description,
OR
Rather a Parallel be-
tweene Cardinall

WOLSEY,

Arch-Bishop of

YORK,

AND

WILLIAM LAUD,

Arch-Bishop of

CANTERBURY.



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